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It seems apparent that Hanoi and Peking have thus far shown no interest in negotiations for peace, despite the urgings of some 40 nations throughout the world who have assisted the 15 efforts which have been made by the United States to start discussions. We are making every effort to convince our adversaries that we cannot be defeated by force. As President Johnson has said, they are not easily convinced. The tempo of hostilities has increased, but the other side has still not recognized that the conference table is the only location where peace may be won.

If the United Nations is to grow as an instrument for international cooperation for peace, its members must utilize its machinery to help resolve difficult crises such as Vietnam, and now India and Pakistan. They must search for any effective way in which an agent or agency of the United Nations can promote peace in Vietnam. They must make every effort to persuade those who now refuse to negotiate that needless suffering will be the only consequence of continuing their military efforts. The United Nations holds in trust the hopes and fears of all in the world who believe that reasonable men and women can forge a future free of the threat of war. It works in two shadows, the nightmare of a future conflict with horrible destructive possibilities, and the recollection of a past in which honorable men, through an inability to meet the challenges which were thrown at collective security in the League of Nations, could not find a solution in time to avoid a surrender to new aggressions and so inevitably fell victim to World War II.

Those who are responsible for the aggression in Vietnam cannot be unaware that the United States has maintained its position steadfastly through the administrations of three Presidents. President Eisenhower pledged that so long as American strength could be useful, we would continue to aid Vietnam in her difficult yet hopeful struggle. President Kennedy reaffirmed the willingness of the United States to help the Republic of Vietnam to protect its people and to preserve its independence. And President Johnson regards this as one of the most solemn pledges of the American nation.

Nor can the other side be wholly oblivious to world opinion. They hope to distort the facts enough to mask their acts of aggression. They seek to win others to their cause. If world opinion demonstrates that it is not deceived, however, its pressure will be exerted against the aggressor where it belongs. We have noted, and we are grateful, that 30 nations give direct support to South Vietnam. That beleaguered nation has received wide international sympathy and understanding. If those people whom the aggressor seeks to win to its ideology demonstrate their revulsion to the tactics being used against the Republic of Vietnam, they will add the weight of their votes to peace. The achievement of the test ban treaty is evidence that world opinion can wield an important influence.

The topic on our agenda which we will now discuss, "The United Nations, Instrument of International Cooperation for Peace and Disarmament," offers a unique opportunity for the Inter-Parliamentary Union to make it clear that it favors United Nations efforts to bring about peace in the troubled areas of the world. In the debate which follows, let us not speak with rancor and add to the international tension which already hampers the finding of solutions. But neither let us go to the other extreme and ignore the hostilities which threaten the peace of the world. Instead, let us search together for practical solutions which will help bring peace. Just as the United Nations has been the instrument of peace in the past, let us seek to make it the instrument of peace in the present.

We of the U.S. delegation are ready and eager to explore ways of enlisting the capacities of the United Nations to act for peace—in this as in other situations that threaten peace and security. As Ambassador Goldberg said in the U.N. on August 16, "the world needs—the world desperately needs—a strengthened, not a weakened, United Nations peacekeeping capacity Those who are prepared to help strengthen it—the overwhelming majority—must be in a position to do so with or without the support of the reluctant few until they learn, as they surely will, that a workable and reliable international peace system is in the national interest of all members of the United Nations." Let us join in that noble and indispensable task.

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Iowa) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. GONZALEZ' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Iowa) was granted permission to extend his remarks in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

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DISASTER RELIEF LEGISLATION

(Mr. BRADEMAS (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Iowa) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express the concern and sympathy of the people of my district for those who have been victimized by America's most recent natural disaster: Hurricane Betsy. We in Indiana were exposed to a similar experience just a few short months ago and the horror and the waste of human lives and property is one with which we can truly identify. President Johnson has visited New Orleans and has pledged that "the Federal Government's total resources will be turned to Louisiana to help this State and its citizens find its way back from this tragedy."

Mr. Speaker, we in Indiana found that for the most part the aid of the Federal Government came quickly and effectively. We found that medicines, foodstuffs and provisions of all kinds came as soon as the President declared our territory a disaster area. But, we also found that, necessary and comforting as these immediate short term measures were, it soon became clear that Federal machinery required to give meaningful long term resource therapy to the stricken individual or family either did not exist or fell far short of what was required. Economic aid in the forms of loan adjustment or mortgage postponement came, if at all, too little and too late. The best aid available was just not enough.

Mr. Speaker, on June 22 of this year I stated before the Senate Public Works Committee, then considering a bill to provide additional assistance for areas suffering a major disaster:

We have found, to our dismay, in Indiana, as have other unfortunate communities, which have been victims of major disaster,

that, notwithstanding the impressive battery of general Federal disaster relief relating to public property losses, as the people go courageously about the trial of rebuilding their homes, farms, businesses, and lives, little or no direct assistance is available to them. Our experience, and that of other hapless citizens in Alaska, Iowa, California, Minnesota, Oregon, Missouri, Washington, Idaho, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Colorado, has made it clear that new legislation is required aimed at providing proper financial help for people who lose everything except their obligation in tornadoes, floods, hurricanes, tidal waves, and earthquakes. Our present knowledge of meteorology may limit what we can do to influence the weather, but it does not confine our compassion for those who have been damaged nor our responsibility to assist those whose lives have been devastated.

It is imperative that we act with dispatch. For some, such as farmers, help must come now or it will be too late to revive their operations. There are many who desperately watch our actions and await our assistance. While we meditate, disaster, and the resulting toll in suffering, hover in the wings. It would be unconscionable if another tragedy should find us unprepared.

The Nation can wait no longer. We, in Congress, must take the initiative. We must establish continuing authority to enable the executive agencies to deal adequately with the multitude of problems which follow every disaster.

It is within our power to mitigate the economic hardship which has been thrust upon some members of our community by forces beyond their control.

Mr. Speaker, on May 11, 1965, I introduced H.R. 8069, a bill to provide additional assistance for areas suffering a major disaster. My distinguished colleague from Indiana, Congressman EDWARD J. ROUSH, introduced companion legislation. On July 22, 1965, the Senate passed the Disaster Relief Act of 1965, which was submitted by the distinguished junior Senator from Indiana (Mr. BRACH BAYH). This legislation parallels H.R. 9885 introduced in this House by the Honorable WAYNE N. ASPINALL, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. Speaker, we have not acted with dispatch. Another disaster has found us unprepared. Let us act now.

WORLD LAW DAY

(Mr. CORMAN was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, Monday, September 13, was an important occasion in our quest for world peace, for people in almost every country on this earth observed the first World Law Day. Monday also marked the opening of the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law, at which the highest judicial officials and the leaders of the international legal profession are exploring ways in which law and legal institutions may aid in the resolution of international disputes and the maintenance of world peace.

The international observance of World Law Day, coupled with the meeting of the world's most esteemed jurists and legal scholars, demonstrates the importance of the role of the law to individual freedom and mankind's hope for a peaceful and orderly world.

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uous review of our intelligence activities. In short, a congressional committee.

No one need be reminded of the significance of intelligence in foreign affairs. Nor should it be necessary to remind ourselves that the oversight of administration and executive operations is a crucial function of the legislative branch. These two points, supplemented by extensive evidence of disorder in the intelligence community, provide an air-tight argument for the establishment of a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence Operations.

I am today submitting legislation designed to meet such a goal. Congress long ago recognized the peculiar importance of atomic energy policy, and therefore established the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which has been remarkably effective and vigilant. The Joint Committee on Intelligence Operations should be patterned after this success. It would be composed of seven Members of the House of Representatives and seven Members of the Senate, selected by the Speaker of the House and by the President of the Senate on a bipartisan basis. The committee would be instructed to initiate continuing studies and review of intelligence activities, and would require the CIA and similar organizations to keep it currently and adequately apprised of American policy and operations.

The case for such action is unimpeachable. Past events have dramatized the admissibility of oversight. Democratic theory and practice oblige it. The performances of congressional Committees on Foreign Affairs and Armed Services are evidence of legislative responsibility in the national security sphere. A Joint Committee on Intelligence Operations should be established forthwith.

THE UNITED NATIONS: INSTRUMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

(Mr. SISK (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Iowa) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Interparliamentary Union Conference now going on in Ottawa, Canada, it was my good fortune on Friday of last week to hear an address by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. DADDARIO]. This speech very clearly sets forth the position of our country with reference to our desire for peace and disarmament, but also it makes clear our determination to carry out our commitments in Vietnam and at the same time, indicates our readiness to negotiate with responsible parties anytime, any place.

I am inserting the complete speech by Mr. DADDARIO and I recommend its reading to my colleagues:

THE UNITED NATIONS, INSTRUMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

(By Hon. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO, U.S. Delegate)

The climate of international relations varies as the weather around us. Two years

ago, it was summer, and the conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was invigorated by the sunshine of the nuclear test-ban treaty. Unfortunately, this year our conference meets in the winter of increasing hostilities in Vietnam and raging battle in Pakistan and India. The cold reality of the existence of warfare in Vietnam dominates the background for our discussions on the agenda topic: "The United Nations, instrument of international cooperation for peace and disarmament."

On this 20th anniversary year of the United Nations, it would be pleasant if we could confine our debate to the many nonpolitical fields in which the achievements of the United Nations form an impressive record. The habit of international cooperation which is gradually being formed in widely scattered fields of interest will clearly contribute to the long-term prospects for peace.

Even when we consider the more controversial area of international political relations, it is still honest to state that the United Nations has been an essential instrument for international peace during its first 20 years and that it has played a leading role in encouraging members to work for disarmament. In Korea, Suez, the Congo, Lebanon, and other crisis situations the United Nations has been the key mechanism for restoring or maintaining peace.

If looked at in the long perspective of history, the successful completion of its first 20 years by the United Nations is a landmark in itself. The machinery furnished by the United Nations places the nations of the world in a situation in which they can discuss and act on international problems with unprecedented speed and efficiency. Only one lifespan ago, at the turn of the century, there was no permanent organization in which nations were regularly meeting to discuss and act upon international problems. Although our own Inter-Parliamentary Union was organized in 1889, discussions of international problems and consideration of measures to promote peace required the convocation of special conferences and congresses such as those at The Hague.

In the future, however, history will judge the United Nations on its success in fulfilling its primary purpose: the maintenance of international peace and security. The League of Nations also provided a regular forum for the discussion of international problems and brought about new heights of international cooperation. Its many accomplishments, however, seemed forgotten when the League could not stem the aggression which led to the Second World War.

In this conference, therefore, let us direct our thought and energy to encouraging a constructive role for the United Nations in the situation which most threatens world peace: Vietnam. Progress in the field of disarmament will undoubtedly be affected until the mounting military requirements and the high level of international tensions wrought by Vietnam are brought back down to normal levels. Progress toward a more secure world peace is dependent on the ability to solve world crises such as this.

The actions we take here can be significant. It was a unanimous vote of the Interparliamentary Union in 1904 that started the wheels turning toward the Second Hague Peace Conference, a milestone in the development of international law and organization. At this meeting, let us do all that we can, all within our power, to start the wheels turning toward negotiations for peace in Vietnam.

The position of my Government on this matter is clear. On July 28, 1965, President Johnson wrote the Secretary General of the United Nations that "the Government of the United States is prepared to enter into negotiations for peaceful settlement without conditions." He reiterated his hopes expressed at the celebration of the 20th anni-

versary of the United Nations Charter "that the members of the United Nations, individually and collectively, will use their influence to bring to the negotiating table all governments involved in an attempt to halt all aggression and evolve a peaceful solution."

On July 30, 1965, in a letter to the President of the Security Council, Ambassador Goldberg pointed out that in the past 4½ years the United States had on at least 15 occasions initiated or supported efforts to bring about negotiations for peaceful settlement of the issues in southeast Asia. Among the efforts of the United States to open a path to peaceful solution in Vietnam which Ambassador Goldberg cited are the following: "Various approaches to Hanoi, Peiping and Moscow.

"Support of peaceful overtures by the United Kingdom, Canada, and the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"Favorable reactions to proposals made by 17 nonaligned nations and later by India.

"Approval of efforts by the Secretary-General to initiate peace discussions.

"Endorsement of a larger role for the United Nations in southeast Asia, including a U.N. mission of observers along the Vietnam and Cambodian frontier, a U.N. mission to investigate alleged suppression of minority rights in Vietnam, and a U.N. invitation to Hanoi to participate in Security Council discussions of the Tonkin Gulf incident.

"Major participation, directly and through the United Nations, in economic and social development projects in southeast Asia."

These efforts to bring peace have been rebuffed by the Hanoi regime, which in addition denies the competence of the United Nations to concern itself with the conflict. Nevertheless, as Ambassador Goldberg has made clear, the United States will continue to explore all possible routes to an honorable and durable peace in southeast Asia, and stands ready to collaborate unconditionally with members of the Security Council in the search for an acceptable formula to restore peace and security in the area.

Negotiations cannot be undertaken unilaterally, however. Both sides in a conflict must be willing to go to the conference table before there can be any prospect for a peaceful solution. As long as Hanoi and Peiping continue to turn down all initiatives in the direction of peace, the United States has no alternative but to continue to assist the Republic of Vietnam in its defensive efforts.

If the aggressors were to succeed in their attempt to gain South Vietnam by force of arms, it would be an invitation to attempt further aggression by the same methods. If the United States and the others providing assistance were to abandon the people of South Vietnam, no small nation threatened with outside aggression or subversion could have confidence that aid which had been pledged would be forthcoming. The Vietnamese people have a stake in our commitment which is literally vital; thousands have died in the faith that this commitment will be honored. If no one were willing to assist the self-defense efforts of the people in Vietnam, those harboring aggressive goals would be emboldened everywhere.

In short, it is precisely because we do believe in the principles of collective security on which the United Nations is based that we are determined to honor our commitment to help the victim of aggression. The United States seeks no territory for itself. It does not seek the destruction of any government. It seeks only that the people of South Vietnam have the right to choose their own form of government rather than have any government forced upon them by outside terror and arms. Our President has stressed, in a public statement of July 28, that "we did not choose to be the guardians at the gate, but there is no one else."

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on the canal would induce steel companies to change their ore movement systems. To do so would involve, among other costly actions, the abandonment of the Saxonburg plant, and a drastic reduction in the scale of operations at Conway, where the Pennsylvania Railroad has the largest classification yard in the Nation. These effects of the canal would certainly be an enormous loss to my district, and must be taken into account as offsetting the benefits claimed for this proposal.

If, despite my doubts, transportation savings were to develop along the lines expected by the district engineer, the benefits would accrue principally to Youngstown, to the disadvantage of steel plants in my district. A study for the engineers estimates that Youngstown's transportation savings per ton of steel making raw materials would be twice as much as at Pittsburgh. This distortion of the comparative economics of location could only be detrimental to the steel companies in my district and to their employees.

As a member of the ad hoc subcommittee on Appalachia and as a Congressman, I am naturally interested in improving the economic atmosphere of my district. Harm to two major industries and to their employees will becloud the atmosphere and run counter to the very purpose of the Appalachia program. I am speaking of the steel and railroad industries. I do not have to tell anyone how important these industries are and have been and will be in the future to my district. I am grateful for the support from so many steel and railroad employees residing in the 25th district and I assure them that I shall work to protect their jobs. In opposing the canal, I am doing just that. It has been estimated that in the State of Pennsylvania 2,700 railroad workers will lose their jobs if the canal is built and handled the tonnage projected by the U.S. Engineers in their report. Whatever the actual figure is, it is too much.

I was very much impressed with the letter which was sent to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors on June 28, 1965, by the Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission. This commission represents six counties in Pennsylvania, two of which, Beaver and Butler, are in my district. Its primary purpose is planning. After consideration of this project, it has found it must oppose the same. The letter points out several weaknesses in the engineer's report. A serious problem which it calls to the board's attention is that local interests are required to provide assurances that they will not withdraw water for consumptive use or divert water around the locks from the water supply provided by the project works. It emphasizes that this requirement could have serious consequences upon the water supply problems of Beaver County. I concur in the commission's concern about this.

In conclusion, after several months of studying the matter I find that I must oppose the canal project as being against the best interests of my congressional district. In my opinion, it would be detrimental both to local government and to industry, and therefore, to the people of my constituency. Industries which have invested so much money in improving their plants would be hurt tremendously by the competitive advantage which would be unfairly handed to the Youngstown-Warren area. The steel industry in the district I represent has invested no less than \$40 million that I know of during just the past 2 years. I will protect such investment in the future of my district.

Every municipality or local government and county government would be assessed beyond its taxing ability. Even if we wanted the canal, my investigations have found that supplementary funds will not be available

under the Appalachia or similar Federal programs to ease the local burden. It is therefore unrealistic to think that the local responsibility could be shifted to the Federal Government.

I thank all of you for attending this meeting, and if there are any questions I will try to answer them.

RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES

(Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Iowa) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, on last Thursday, September 9, Vice President HUMPHREY delivered a stirring speech to the thousands of people attending the Eastern Iowa Rural Electric Show which was held at Wilton Junction, Iowa, located in my congressional district. I would like to extend my compliments to Mr. HUMPHREY for his perceptive recognition of the great contributions that the rural electric cooperatives have made to brighten rural lives on the domestic scene. I thought it especially fitting that the Vice President also recognized the tremendous contributions of the rural electricians overseas—helping to build a better, peaceful life abroad as well as at home.

Following is the text of Vice President HUMPHREY's address of last Thursday: REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, 30TH ANNUAL MEETING, THE BARBECUE AND ELECTRIC SHOW, WILTON JUNCTION, IOWA, SEPTEMBER 9, 1965

It is a genuine privilege for me to participate today in the 30th anniversary meeting of the largest rural electric cooperative in the State of Iowa.

The Eastern Iowa Light & Power Cooperative was one of the first organizations of rural people to make use of financing from the Rural Electrification Administration.

Later you were joined by more than 1,000 other cooperatives and public bodies in 48 States and Puerto Rico. Through your efforts and the force of your example, you have lifted the proportion of electrified farms in this country from less than 11 percent in 1935 to more than 98 percent today.

Your rural electric cooperatives have revolutionized life in rural America.

You freed the farm housewife from a lifetime of bondage to the handiron and cookstove, the washboard and hand pump.

You showed people how to farm more productively, how to use electric power for hundreds of different farm chores.

You put electric lights and running water in the schoolhouse, and you have put an end to the old one-room school, so rich in sentimental memories but so poor in educational facilities.

You have generated thousands of new jobs for rural America and have opened up the countryside to social and economic development and improvement.

And you helped erase forever that sharp line of demarcation that used to separate country people from city people.

President Roosevelt established the REA 30 years ago as part of a broad, emergency relief program. A year later the late and revered Speaker Sam Rayburn and that great Nebraskan, Senator George Norris, guided through to passage the Rural Electrification Act. Few people at that time shared these men's vision of a completely electrified rural America. And fewer people still foresaw that the first small, struggling cooperatives—operated by farmers who weren't supposed to know anything about running an electric

company—would grow into strong, progressive power suppliers and establish themselves within a few years as a permanent segment of the American power industry.

But that is precisely what has happened. And it has happened without a single hand-out from the Federal Government without a penny's worth of grants-in-aid. The cooperative rural electrification program in the United States has been financed entirely on the basis of loans—loans repayable to the Government with interest. And the credit record of REA-financed cooperatives is probably the best of any business of that kind in the country.

You in the rural electrification program have written one of the best success stories in history.

But rural electrification means more than lights in the farmhouse and milking machines in the barn. And it also means more than a local rural success story.

President Johnson stated it well when he said, and I quote, "the rural electrification program was from the beginning the foundation program for the success of our national effort to strengthen the whole economy by strengthening the agricultural economy . . . we have through REA made our Nation stronger and made the horizons of today's generation broader."

Your President has been a champion of REA since its beginning in 1935 when the Pedernales Electric Cooperative in Johnson City, Tex., applied for a REA loan. Several times the REA had to return the application because there were not enough consumers signed up for service.

President Johnson, then newly elected to the House, worked in the fields with the Pedernales sign-up workers and awarded western hats to those who got the most people to sign up.

This extra effort proved successful and in September 1938 the Pedernales Cooperative received an REA loan for \$1.3 million. This cooperative serves that area today.

President Johnson is well aware that the lessons of history, both here and abroad, make it clear that there can be no firm foundation for an enduring national prosperity as long as the rural economy limps along far behind the urban economy. For 50 years, since World War I, there has been a continuing struggle to win parity for rural people. It still is our goal to win parity of income and parity of opportunity for our farm people.

It has dawned on many of us gradually that it is equally important that rural people achieve parity of certain vital community services—such necessities of modern life as pure drinking water, electric and telephone service, and health, recreational and educational facilities.

These, too, form a part of our battle for parity.

It is proper concern of all Americans that all of our people, whether they live in town or country, enjoy an equal opportunity to contribute to a developing economy. But parity of opportunity continues to be denied to far too many people today simply because they happen to live in rural areas. In a number of places in the country, pockets of poverty and pools of economic stagnation continue. It is the Johnson administration's firm resolve to make a definite improvement in these conditions.

It is an unpleasant fact that while only one-third of all Americans live in rural areas, fully one-half of the families which we classify as impoverished live in the country.

No matter what the general level of prosperity—and that level has never been higher than it is in the United States today—our economy is not operating anywhere near its capacity as long as even part of our rural life is characterized by poverty, blight and hopelessness. With the help of our rural electric cooperatives we can step up the pace of

economic development in these areas of the country.

If all America is to participate fully in our future economic growth, it is essential that utility services, which in large measure represent tools for commercial and industrial development, be provided to rural people under rates and conditions comparable to those available to people residing in our towns and cities.

In the rural electrification program, the barriers to parity are offset to some degree by the provision of long-term, low-interest loans and technical assistance by REA. These are essential to eventual parity of electric rates and services.

But parity in American life will only be reached if we work on many fronts, in many places.

We can find ways to continue to improve and develop the American countryside, just as you found ways to organize your cooperative, set the first poles, and string the first lines.

We can slow down the migration of our young people from rural areas by opening up new opportunity for rural youth through better education and training.

We can find ways to encourage more rapid expansion of business and industry in rural areas, to provide more off-the-farm employment for our young people and for others displaced from agriculture.

We can strengthen the family farm pattern, helping families to apply new technological innovations to their operations, while making sure that increased efficiency does not mean less income to the producer.

We can readjust rural land use to make more land available for outdoor recreation and open spaces.

We can continue to press for adequate public facilities and services in rural areas.

And we can help all rural people to adjust to the rapid changes taking place in America today.

As you pursue these broad national goals for the fuller development of rural America, you will receive the strongest possible support for your efforts from this Administration. But you must define your problems. You must initiate the action and seek the solutions.

In doing this, you should start with a feeling of optimism. You have so many resources in rural America that already are in short supply elsewhere. You have open space and fresh air. You can offer people freedom of movement and a nearness to the beauties of the natural countryside.

You can offer relaxation and recreation, and you can offer that most wonderful resource of all—the neighborliness of the rural community.

You may not realize it, but what you already have accomplished shines forth as a lamp of hope for people everywhere. The pattern of cooperative rural electrification developed in the rural United States today is being widely studied and imitated by the underdeveloped nations of the world.

In South Vietnam, a six-man team of rural electrification experts from the United States has just staked out that Nation's first three rural electric cooperatives, under contract from the Agency for International Development. Actual construction is scheduled to begin in November under supervision of an American engineer, and the first rural system will be energized next April.

The size of the task faced by these men is a big one. More than 11 million of South Vietnam's 14 million people are without electricity. And fewer than 100 of its 3,000 villages have any means of generating power. But we should remember that in the 30 years that your cooperative has been in existence, more than 5 million farmers and other rural consumers in this country have obtained electricity through rural cooperatives.

The contribution that cooperatives can make to the social and economic development of other nations is recognized in the Humphrey amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. This is the act which established the Agency for International Development and I sponsored that amendment while serving in the Senate.

At the time, there were no cooperative development programs being carried out through private groups as part of our foreign aid program. My amendment declared it "to be the policy of the United States . . . to encourage the development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations."

Today a Cooperative Advisory Committee of 13 nationally known leaders of the American cooperative movement assist the Administrator of AID. One member is Clyde Ellis, general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

Under a contract which NRECA signed with AID, rural electric systems in the United States are providing advisory, organizational, and managerial services to the emerging countries of the free world in their efforts to obtain electric service. So far, more than 40 rural electric have been recruited by NRECA under this contract to provide help in 21 countries abroad. These include many of our neighbors in Latin America as well as in the Philippines and Thailand. The application of the REA pattern already has established new rural electric cooperatives in Ecuador and Nicaragua.

Exporting the REA-cooperative pattern is not limited to sending engineers, managers, and other technicians abroad. The University of Wisconsin, with AID assistance, now offers an International Cooperative Training Center, where officials and potential cooperative leaders from all parts of the free world are studying. They are studying what you have built here in these counties of eastern Iowa. They are learning about member-owned cooperative enterprises and how they can be used to serve the needs of people everywhere.

Because of the efforts of rural people like you, the cooperative rural electrification program has become a symbol, both in this country and abroad, of the great things that can be accomplished through the helpful cooperation of local people and their government.

Let us keep working together to build a better life in rural America and in the world.

It's Complicated AUTHORITY OVER INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

(Mr. ROSENTHAL (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Iowa) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, recent revelations from Singapore and Washington dramatize once more the total inadequacy of executive and congressional authority over intelligence operations.

For at least 10 years, it has been clear that the distinction between the gathering of raw information and the implementation of actual policy is a tenuous one. An intelligence agent assigned to a mission with considerable resources and influence cannot help but make moves carrying high political significance. It is the very nature of such operations that information and policy become almost indistinguishable. It is likewise clear that intelligence operations can sometimes tend to reinforce the image of

America as an indiscriminate agent of intervention all over the globe. I myself find it difficult to believe that the value of such intensive and systematic intelligence offsets the increase in ill will which is its inevitable result. It seems to be clear that contemporary world politics obliges some sort of system of intelligence from the great powers. I am prepared to accept the argument that such a system, properly controlled and executed, can often be an agent of necessary international stability. I am less convinced of the need for extensive operations in countries, mainly those of the "third world," where American interests and American competition are not so clearly at stake.

If those responsible for the conduct of American diplomacy judge that intelligence is a crucial mechanism for security, and if they can exercise restraint and sensitivity to the intense political and psychological implications of this activity, then the case for intelligence operations can be made with reason and effect. It is intolerable, however, that intelligence activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and other organizations be free from rigorous democratic review. And this is clearly the case now.

Since the outset of the cold war, and the growth of the intelligence community, individual public servants and special expert commissions have urged the establishment of a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence Operations. The Hoover Commission, for example, put the case strongly over 10 years ago. The report stated:

The task force is concerned over the absence of satisfactory machinery for surveillance of the stewardship of the CIA. It is making recommendations which it believes will provide the proper type of watchdog commission as a means of reestablishing that relationship between the CIA and the Congress so essential and characteristic of our democratic form of government, but which was abrogated by the enactment of Public Law 110 and other statutes relating to the Agency. It would include Representatives of both Houses of Congress and of the Chief Executive. Its duties would embrace a review of the operations and effectiveness, not only of the CIA, but also of all other intelligence agencies.

The report continued:

Although the task force has discovered no indication of abuses of powers by the CIA or other intelligence agencies, it nevertheless is firmly convinced, as a matter of future insurance, that some reliable, systematic review of all the agencies and their operations should be provided by congressional action as a checkrein to assure both the Congress and the people that this hub of the intelligence effort is functioning in an efficient, effective, and reasonably economical manner.

From time to time, special study commissions have been assigned to overlook the general structure of the intelligence community. Thus, after the Bay of Pigs, President Kennedy established machinery for extensive review of the CIA. Temporary oversight, however, is not the answer, particularly when it is forced to operate in an atmosphere of disquiet and recent crisis. What is needed is deliberate, calm, and most important, contin-

tion, not with vote frauds and dishonest elections. There is other legislation dealing with those problems.

Third. A challenged vote is counted only if the challenge has not been filed in time to be ruled upon before the election. The list of registered voters must be published each month, and 10 days is allowed to challenge a voter. A hearing examiner has 15 days to determine the validity of the challenge, and an appeal may be taken to court which must rule in 15 days. The last list of registered voters must be published 45 days before the election. By law, therefore, every challenge filed up to 40 days before the election must be ruled on. And the likelihood is that even challenges filed after that time would be ruled on before the election.

PROTECTING THE SANCTITY OF THE BALLOT

The position paper contends:

Additional legislation is clearly required to uphold the sanctity of the ballot.

But no attempt is made to define the provisions of the legislation that may be needed.

If the Republicans feel this need, they should certainly come forth with concrete proposals which can be judged on their merits.

That would certainly be better than indulging in the idle rhetoric of a "position paper" or organizing programs of voter intimidation such as the notorious Operation Eagle Eye used in the 1964 presidential election.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT EDUCATION

The paper declares:

We effectively support a massive campaign against illiteracy in the United States.

It is unfortunate that more Republicans did not share this sentiment when the poverty program was enacted in 1964 or when the administration's education bills were under consideration this year.

As it was, 81 percent of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives voted against the poverty program, and 69 percent voted against the elementary-secondary education bill.

EMPLOYMENT

The paper accuses the administration of doing little to implement the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 calling for the establishment of an Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. And it contends that full implementation of these provisions have been hampered because members of the Commission were not appointed until May of this year.

This conveniently glosses over the fact that the act authorizing the Commission did not become law until July 1964, just prior to the Republican National Convention and the nomination of Senator Goldwater as the Republican candidate for President. How quick the Republicans would have been to criticize President Johnson had he named the members of this new and extremely important Commission in the midst of a presidential election campaign. And how quick they are to complain about the few weeks the President took after the election to find the best possible persons to fill these positions.

The fact is that the President proceeded with care and deliberation, the members of the Commission have been named, its offices are open, and its work is now well underway.

By comparison with the issue made of the time it has taken to get a good Equal Employment Opportunities Commission underway, the position paper dismisses the entire poverty program in a single sentence:

The antipoverty program, which was originally aimed at helping the poor including many members of racial minority groups, has already deteriorated into a shameful example of predatory political patronage for the big city machines.

That is resounding rhetoric. But the conclusion will come as a surprise to the bosses of the "big city machines" it refers to. They have been complaining about the poverty program almost as loudly as the Republicans—because they feel it has not provided the patronage they had expected.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS AND FACILITIES

The paper charges that the administration has not been vigorous enough in enforcing the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibiting discrimination at publicly owned and operated facilities such as parks and libraries.

Yet it notes that 18 suits have been brought by the Justice Department to enforce this part of the act. And it passes over, without mention, the large number of complaints which have been resolved through mediation.

STATE, PRIVATE, AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY

The position paper makes the sweeping accusation that "the whole trend of Federal legislation in the present Congress has been at the expense of State responsibility."

No specifics are alleged.

Yet the fact is that no President has been as diligent as President Johnson in seeking the views of Governors, involving them in his deliberations, and proposing legislation to strengthen the ability of the States to deal with their problems.

States have a vital role under the poverty program. States are equally important in highway programs, housing programs, hospital construction programs, area redevelopment, and virtually every aspect of Federal activity.

A detailed analysis, in fact, would probably show that this Congress had done more to expand Federal assistance to State governments to a level greater than it has ever attained before.

CONCLUSION

The Republican position paper finally reaches the conclusion, supported by nothing to be found elsewhere in the paper, that "this administration has failed to enforce the law of the land."

How?

Where?

When?

It does not say.

Little wonder that the members of the Republican coordinating committee were unable to agree on the paper when they met to consider it on August 30. And little wonder that the text was not distributed until 2 days later.

(Mr. ALBERT (at the request of Mr. Boggs) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. ALBERT'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

NEEDED: A JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

(Mr. KASTENMEIER (at the request of Mr. Boggs) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a House concurrent resolution to create a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence. At the same time I want to commend the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ZABLOCKI] for his determined efforts to persuade Congress to take a hard look at the intelligence operations of the United States and to establish such a committee.

For it is true that, in the language of today's New York Times:

Congressional supervision of the Nation's intelligence activities is obviously inadequate. A joint committee similar to that which watches over atomic energy, has been urged by many Members of Congress; it is badly needed.

We do not need to look far for evidence of this need. The current disastrous incident involving attempted bribery of Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew by a CIA agent strongly supports the Times' contention that "the country can no longer be sure that either the State Department or the White House is exercising the requisite supervision over an agency about which the public knows almost nothing at all."

The gentleman from Wisconsin has led efforts since 1953 to create such a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence. I am happy to recognize his interest and concern in this area and to join him in the effort to establish such a committee.

The resolution I introduce today would establish a joint committee to be composed of seven Congressmen and seven Senators selected by the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate on a bipartisan basis. It would make continuing studies of intelligence activities and problems. Although the committee would not expect to concern itself with the details of day-to-day operations of the intelligence agencies, the CIA and similar agencies would be expected to keep it currently and adequately informed.

The time has definitely come for Congress to assert a more formal and extensive supervision over the burgeoning intelligence operations of our Government. Such supervision is needed to eliminate waste from individual agency budgets, to avoid unnecessary duplication of intelligence efforts, to assure that programs operate effectively.

Most importantly, however, such congressional supervision is needed to assure that the standards of morality honored by American society are not completely undermined in the conduct of our international intelligence activities.

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Those who seek world peace through world law must begin by building the foundations for supranational institutions of government. This cannot be done at once. It cannot even be wisely considered on a worldwide basis at the present time. Governmental systems are too diverse. The Soviet Union Government, for example, came to power by conspiracy, continues in power through conspiracy and if the past is a guide to the future it will ultimately be overthrown by conspiracy. Even attempting to establish supranational governmental institutions which would include a powerful conspiratorial force like the Soviet Government would be too hazardous for consideration.

But the beginning need not be on a worldwide scale. The sensible starting point is the group of nations commonly known as the Atlantic Community. This community embraces peoples experienced at self-government with long-standing traditions in law and protection of individual rights. Most of them are presently allied for military purposes in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, but this of course is not a government. It is but an alliance, and as George Washington so wisely warned, all alliances are subject to infractions and interruptions.

The world law conferees could wisely consider a first but giant step toward world law. That step would be the transformation of the NATO alliance into a supranational government able to write law and enforce judicial rulings within its constitutional scope for the whole of the union.

I hope some consideration will be given to this idea by the conferees. Reprinted below is an interesting commentary on the approaching conference published in the Washington Post today and written by the able columnist Roscoe Drummond:

WORLD LAW MEETING—DEFEAT OF THE CYNICS
(By Roscoe Drummond)

Mark down the World Conference on World Peace Through Law in Washington, September 12-18, as a signal and magnificent defeat for the cynics.

The cynics said it couldn't be done. They said it was silly to think it could be done and sillier still even to try it.

The cynics said that, with hot war in many parts of the earth and cold peace everywhere, this would be no time to talk about peace through law.

But the leaders of the American Bar Association didn't think so at all. They thought this was the best time to start, because something needed to be done before it is too late.

World law, let alone world peace through law, is not just around the corner. Far from it. But a tremendous and exciting start has been made.

As a result, more than 2,500 leading lawyers and jurists from 110 countries, including 65 chief justices, 153 high court justices, and 59 attorneys general or ministers of justice will gather in Washington to draft plans for new international courts, to codify and strengthen international law, and to build acceptance for an alternative to force—for resort to the bench rather than resort to the battlefield.

The first such conference in history was held in Athens in 1963 when the leaders of the legal profession from more than 100 countries formed the World Peace Through Law

Center, which now has 2,000 dues-paying members, a sizable annual budget, and a \$100,000 gift for a world headquarters building.

It has already compiled the first of 50 volumes bringing together all of the international law existent into a world law code for ready use.

It is developing proposals for expansion of the World Court through regional courts for easier access and for still lower trial courts to make it easier for nations to turn to law to settle many lesser disputes.

It is publishing for the first time a directory of law, judges, and lawyers of the world, a long-needed and valuable tool for the legal profession.

Lawyers from most of the Iron Curtain countries will be present for the Washington conference, which is a meeting of individuals, not of governments. Lawyers from North Korea and North Vietnam have not responded. Peiping coined a phrase and denounced the meeting as an "imperialist plot."

It all began 8 years ago, when the president of the American Bar Association, Charles S. Rhyne, followed Winston Churchill, Chief Justice Warren, and the Lord Chancellor of London to the podium in London's historic Guildhall and proposed that all lawyers join in a common effort to make law strong enough to replace force as the controlling factor in the fate of man.

Rhyne, a Washington lawyer, has been working at it ever since.

It is safe to assume that things will keep on happening. Two reasons are:

Lawyers constitute the most powerful segment of society in almost every country on every continent.

When the legal profession of the entire world mobilizes its influence and talents, as it is now doing, a powerful force is in motion. This is no miracle, but a solid beginning that points the way in which the nations must move if we are ever to lay hold of a means to make peace equal to our means to make war.

The world's legal profession is magnificently giving its services to a new civilization itself.

REAPPORTIONMENT DISCHARGE PETITION

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GROSS. Would a quorum call be in order, in order to get Members to the House floor to sign the reapportionment discharge petition?

The SPEAKER. Of course, the gentleman is so well versed in the rules of the House that the gentleman knows the answer to that inquiry.

EQUALITY IN AMERICA: A PROMISE UNFULFILLED

(Mr. ALBERT (at the request of Mr. Boggs) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, there follows an analysis of the Republican coordinating committee's position paper on human rights issued August 30, 1965. Most of this is a fine statement of principles which could probably be endorsed by more Democrats than Republicans.

Democrats might question, however, the claim that "for a century and more

the Republican Party has struggled more consistently and effectively than any other political party for justice and progress in human rights." Consistency has never been noted as a virtue of Democrats. But effectiveness has.

And there may even be some Republicans who would feel that the leadership of Lyndon Johnson, when he was majority leader of the Senate, was at least as important as the leadership of President Eisenhower in producing the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

The claim is made that the Republican voting rights proposal "would have resulted in more effective law and broader protection of all voting rights of all citizens."

This could probably be dismissed as pardonable pride of authorship. The so-called Republican proposal was that put forth by Congressman WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH, of Ohio, who is also chairman of the task force that produced the position paper on human rights.

It would have made two principal changes in the law that was enacted:

First. It would have established the number of complaints received by the Attorney General as the criteria for determining voter discrimination, rather than the existence of a literacy test and a low level of voting participation.

Second. It would have eliminated the requirements that States found to practice voting discrimination obtain the approval of a Federal court for changes in their voting laws.

The House of Representatives rejected this proposal 248 to 171. Twenty-one Republicans joined the Democrats in voting against it.

This section of the position paper also poses three questions for the President:

First. Why Texas was not covered under his initial voting rights bill and is not effectively covered now?

Second. Why vote frauds and dishonest elections, such as have occurred in Chicago and Texas, were not covered under his proposal?

Third. Why should challenged votes be counted and if found invalid be used possibly to determine the outcome of an election, including the election of a President?

The questions are so misleading they should probably be regarded as rhetorical. But, if one regards them seriously, it is not necessary to turn to the President to get answers.

They are:

First. Texas is covered under the Voting Rights Act exactly the same as any other State. The purpose of the question is to imply that the criteria set forth in the act for determining the existence of voter discrimination—a literacy test and a low level of voter participation—were drawn to exclude Texas. That would be difficult to prove when the same criteria have excluded 40 other States and the District of Columbia. Texas certainly is not the only one of these without a literacy test. Nor is it the one with the lowest level of voter participation.

Second. The purpose of the legislation was to deal with voter discrimina-

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Cause for concern over this moral breakdown is not limited to the Singapore case, but arises also from the factual content of recent television programs which detail the implication of the CIA in objectionable practices in Latin America and elsewhere.

These incidents clearly discredit and debase our national prestige in the eyes of the world.

Congress cannot afford to delay asserting its supervision until these activities result in a fiasco of such proportions as to actually jeopardize our national security.

I believe that the editorial from today's New York Times states a compelling case for the establishment of the Joint Committee on Intelligence as proposed in the House concurrent resolution I have introduced today. I commend it for your serious consideration:

SUPERVISING THE CIA

The case of the Singapore bribe attempt raises serious questions about the Central Intelligence Agency and its role in American foreign policy.

Initially, the State Department flatly denied Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's disclosure that in 1960 a CIA agent had offered him a bribe to cover up an unsuccessful CIA effort to penetrate Singapore's intelligence service. Only after Mr. Lee released a 1961 letter of apology from Secretary Rusk and threatened to put incriminating tape recordings on radio Singapore, did the State Department's embarrassed spokesman confirm the incident.

The spokesman explained that the State Department officials responsible for the initial denial were not fully aware of the background of the incident. And the CIA, as the Times diplomatic correspondent Max Frankel reported yesterday, "apparently relayed the denial of wrongdoing that it customarily issues to the rest of the Government when confronted by such charges."

All this is dismally reminiscent of the false State Department denials in the 1960 U-2 case that broke up the Paris summit conference with Russia. After the Bay of Pigs disaster, President Kennedy ordered new procedures established to assure that the State Department would be adequately informed of CIA activities so that it could exercise policy supervision. The Killian watchdog committee, originally appointed by President Eisenhower, was revived, given a far more vigorous role, and in 1963 placed under the chairmanship of former White House adviser Clark Clifford.

Evidently some or all these safeguards have now broken down. What is most disturbing is not the certain damage done in Singapore, but the possibility of more serious delinquencies. The country can no longer be sure that either the State Department or the White House is exercising the requisite supervision over an agency about which the public knows almost nothing at all.

The Clifford committee evidently is already looking into the case. A congressional investigation is also in order. Congressional supervision of the Nation's intelligence activities is obviously inadequate. A joint committee, similar to that which watches over atomic energy, has been urged by many Members of Congress; it is badly needed.

Serious damage has been done to American relations with many governments by CIA activities in the past, particularly in Asia. In Jakarta last spring, President Sukarno and many members of his cabinet were reading a new American book, "The Invisible Government," and using its confirmation of CIA intervention in the 1958 Sumatra uprising to justify their hostility to the West and increasing friendship with Communist China. Similar hostility exists in Burma and Cam-

bodia. It is vital that Washington establish the kind of firm supervision of the CIA that can prevent such blunders in the future.

EPISCOPAL MINISTER BLAMES RIOT ON KING

(Mr. WAGGONER (at the request of Mr. Boggs) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WAGGONER. Mr. Speaker, it is refreshing indeed to read in David Lawrence's column in the Washington Star of September 2 that a ranking member of the clergy has stated from his pulpit that the blame for the trend toward violent disregard of the law and authority can only be laid at the doorstep of Martin Luther King. Further, he acknowledges and condemns the support of civil disobedience to constituted authority being lavishly given by many of the clergy.

The remarks delivered by the Reverend Dr. Robert B. Watts, of La Jolla, Calif., as contained in Mr. Lawrence's column, should be must reading for every Member, and I would like to insert it here in the RECORD for all to see:

It isn't often that a clergyman has also had a successful career as a Government lawyer and in private business. Ministers have rarely had the opportunity to study the law of the land as was the experience of the Reverend Dr. Robert B. Watts, pastor of an Episcopal church in La Jolla, Calif.

A sermon delivered by Dr. Watts since the Los Angeles riots deprecates the doctrine that it is all right to disobey an "unjust" law. The latter idea, enunciated by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Negro leader, has aroused considerable objection not only among clergymen but among laymen as well throughout the country.

Dr. Watts graduated from Yale Law School, where he was editor of the Yale Law Journal. He practiced law in Chicago and New York, and was chief assistant U.S. attorney in New York City for several years and served also as Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. He was with the National Labor Relations Board for 9 years from 1934 to 1943. For 3 of these he was general counsel of the Board and argued many of its cases in the Supreme Court of the United States. He served also in business as vice president and general counsel of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp. and later with General Dynamics Corp. He was ordained in 1958 in the Episcopal diocese of Los Angeles. Dr. Watts, in his recent sermon, said:

"There has been advanced by various philosophical followers of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the most extraordinary suggestions ever made in Anglo-Saxon or American legal annals. As a mixture of sophistry and soft headedness, brewed by nonlegal or corroded legal minds, I assert that this suggestion has spawned the present wave of destruction now sweeping the country.

"In brief, this proposed doctrine is that if any individual citizen or group of citizens, after meditation, come to the conclusion that any law is unjust; and further conclude that if apprehended he or they are willing to accept the penalty imposed for violation of the law—then it becomes morally justifiable to break the law openly and notoriously.

"Of course the worst thing about this doctrine is that there are no dividing lines in it. If it is valid for a small violation, it applies equally to a more serious one. Once you start this approach there is no stopping. It is like a roller coaster which nears the top of the track. Once you push it over a little bit, it plunges down all the way.

"The amazing thing is that many clergy of this church, including such priests and bishops, have openly and officially accepted this doctrine. Episcopal clergymen have received written expressions of this doctrine for their guidance. And large numbers of clergy of this and other communions have been sent, or have gone on their own volition, to Southern areas for the sole purpose of expressing racial concerns by open law defiance pursuant to this new assertion of moral right.

"Finally, as sorely distressed Christians we see instance after instance of reluctance on the part of elected officials to meet lawlessness quickly and firmly lest there be an adverse effect upon their personal political careers at the ballot box. Thank God not all our officials are of this character, but too many are."

Dr. Watts declared that it ought to be perfectly clear that no person, "however exalted he may be or regard himself, has the right to say that what was wrong before becomes morally right if the acting party is willing to be punished if caught." He pointed out that clergymen have a duty not only to support the Constitution and laws of the land, but to reject the doctrine "of a morally justified civil disobedience." He urged that there be no compromise with lawlessness, and he added that Christians should "seek by all lawful and proper means to help our neighbors to achieve civic equality of treatment and betterment of opportunity for self-improvement."

While it is understandable that there should be a difference of viewpoint as to the wisdom of participation by the clergy in public demonstrations, there has been much discussion among the clergymen as to how far such activities should extend. There is widespread sentiment that clergymen, as individual citizens, may express themselves freely on problems of human behavior, but that ministers ought not to take part in "sit-ins" or "lie-ins" in mass protests which can incite violence.

It is apparent that many of the younger clergymen are taking the position that, since the objective is worthy, any method used to achieve it is permissible, whereas the clergymen of more mature years, irrespective of their sectarian affiliations, are arguing that clergymen have the same obligation as do other citizens to obey the law.

STEEL AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

(Mr. BOGGS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the entire Nation is watching anxiously as negotiations continue between the major steel companies and the United Steel Workers. Everyone appreciates, I believe, what would happen to our prosperity here at home if nearly half a million steelworkers were to be idled by a strike, and if hundreds of thousands more were to be laid off in other industries because of a shortage of steel. But that is not the only threat which faces us.

The whole country has another stake in these steel negotiations. That stake is nothing less than the world strength of the American dollar. To preserve the strength of our dollar, we have launched a successful campaign to achieve a balance of payments in our trade relations with other nations. The success of that campaign is now in jeopardy. Steel plays a large role in this Nation's balance of payments and, unless a peaceful and responsible settlement can be reached

without a strike, that role in the months ahead will be exceedingly destructive.

Back in the mid-1950's, steel made a large, positive contribution to our balance-of-payments situation. America's balance of payments last showed an annual surplus in 1957—a surplus of some \$520 million. In that year, steel exports exceeded steel imports by some \$825 million—more than our entire balance-of-payments surplus. Last year, however, we showed a deficit in our balance of payments of \$3.1 billion. And in that year, steel imports exceeded steel exports by \$146 million. The effect of the decline of exports and the rise of steel imports on our balance-of-payments problem is, therefore, clear. Of the \$3½ billion unfavorable shift in our balance of payments which has occurred over the last 7 years, steel alone has accounted for almost \$1 billion, or one-fourth of the total.

Much of this shift in the competitive position of American steel can be traced to the paralysis caused by the 1959 strike. That strike, lasting 116 days, dealt a severe and crippling blow to our balance of trade in steel. As domestic supplies of steel became uncertain, and then dwindled, American companies looked for new sources, and they found them. New channels of trade were opened, and American firms soon discovered that good quality steel could be bought abroad. When the strike ended, those channels remained open. Steel imports continued at more than twice their prestrike level.

This year, the American payments deficit will be sharply reduced from last year's \$3.1 billion level. The superb voluntary cooperation of our banks and our manufacturing companies in their lending and investment policies is thus adding mightily to the strength of the dollar.

In the second quarter of this year, our balance of payments achieved its first quarterly surplus in nearly 8 years, in the amount of \$132 million. But we earned that surplus in spite of a steel trade deficit of \$221 million during the same quarter. American steel users felt they had to hedge against the threat that labor and management in steel might once again let the industry shut down.

The steel deficit makes the overall surplus even more remarkable. But it also shows the magnitude of the economic problems that brinksmanship in steel negotiations have created for this country. Even without a strike, the steel trade deficit is likely to be half a billion dollars this year.

A strike would greatly enlarge that loss. In the opening days and weeks of a strike, orders placed abroad would quicken. If the strike continued, imports would continue to rise. A long strike would cost this country an additional 3 million tons in our steel trade balance, a loss of about another \$400 million. And many of the foreign suppliers are now insisting on long-run contracts as their price for taking on new customers. Such contracts would continue even after the strike were settled. The loss could again be permanent, as it was in 1959. The costs would be borne by both management and labor in steel, and by the whole Nation as well.

With steel imports already running over a million tons a month, filling more than 10 percent of all our domestic needs, we can ill afford a further increase because of a strike.

We have asked American industry to conduct its investments abroad in such a way as to cut foreign exchange costs. We have asked our banks to limit their loans outside this country. We have reduced the amount of duty-free souvenirs that Americans traveling abroad can bring back into this country. We have asked these sacrifices of the American people and of American industry, and they have responded magnificently. They are entitled to ask that the steel negotiators be similarly concerned about defending the dollar as they carry on their discussions.

By continuing operations, by maintaining stable prices, by moving ahead with its dynamic modernization plans which call for investment outlays of \$2.3 billion next year, the steel industry can reverse the trend of the past in world markets. It can join our other industries in demonstrating once more the miracle of American productivity and efficiency which generates the world's largest trade surplus. The future of our trade position in steel is vital to steelworkers, to stockholders and management, and to the whole Nation. Whether that position is to improve, or grow steadily worse, lies in the hands of the men negotiating the steel labor settlement today.

THE SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] is recognized for 15 minutes.

[Mr. LAIRD addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK 1965 AND THE NEED FOR A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

THE SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN], is recognized for 10 minutes.

MR. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, for several years the Russian imperialists have vehemently denounced our annual Captive Nations Week observance. This year's observance was preceded by a violent attack from none other than Russia's chief ideologist, Mikhail Suslov, who is also a member of the Central Committee's Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Here is the core of his message:

Especially disgusting is the villainous demagoguery of the imperialistic chieftains of the United States. Each year they organize the so-called Captive Nations Week, hypocritically pretending to be defenders of nations that have escaped from their yoke.

There have been often equally sharp denunciations. What is significant in all of these cases is the morbid fear with which the Russians have consistently viewed the Captive Nations Week res-

olution and the annual observance. This alone should warrant a thorough and systematic investigation by us—to find out why, how we can profit from it, what new legislation is required to bolster the bastions of freedom.

All this points up again the pressing need for a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations. Such a committee would make this necessary, thorough and systematic investigation, and very likely would produce solid contributions similar to those of preceding congressional committees that concerned themselves with the Katyn Forest massacre and Communist takeovers. It was my privilege to serve on the Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression. This was over 10 years ago. The Congress can well take pride in the historic contributions of that committee. But the work begun in the fifties must be extended by us in this decade, especially in view of this mysterious fear on the part of the Russian Communist leaders. Who can say that the causes of this behavior are not worth looking into?

Mr. Speaker, many of our distinguished Members have commented on the 1965 Captive Nations Week and have furnished selected examples of the week's tremendous success. I wish to join them in paying tribute to the National Captive Nations Committee and its associated organizations for the conduct of the week and also in having the following, additional examples of the week's observance which I will include in my remarks: First, in the State of Ohio, the Governor's proclamation and that of the mayor of Dayton, along with several items of Dayton's observance; second, news items on the week in Svoboda of July 17; third, an interesting UPI story on the Gerald Brooke show trial; fourth, the Buffalo observance program and a declaration from nearby Canada; and fifth, a proclamation, programs, news reports, and addresses during Pittsburgh's observance of the week:

STATE OF OHIO,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Columbus.

PROCLAMATION: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK,
JULY 18-24, 1965

Whereas the harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea,

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THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 31, 1965.

Pollution of the air threatens the health and welfare of our citizens, diminishes the economic vitality of our Nation, and mars and obscures the beauty of our cities, parks, and open spaces.

It is, therefore, important that we give high priority to efforts to achieve and maintain control of the many sources of air contamination. Neglect of this need today will only mean a more serious problem tomorrow.

Under the Clean Air Act of 1963, the Federal Government is helping our cities and States meet their responsibility for developing air pollution control programs capable of dealing with this problem. In order to make full use of the Clean Air Act, however, cities and States need public understanding and support.

Cleaner Air Week focuses attention on the national air pollution problems and means for combating it, and I commend the Air Pollution Control Association for its continuing sponsorship of this worthwhile event.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

(Mr. BROWN of California (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BROWN of California's remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. GONZALEZ' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. GONZALEZ' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION ON THE ROLE OF CONGRESS IN FOREIGN POLICY AND INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(Mr. SCHEUER (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, it is clearly evident that Congress constitutional warmaking prerogative exists today only on paper. In any major nuclear holocaust all of the buttons will have been pushed before Congress would have a chance to meet.

We can hardly expect any President seriously to attempt to go before Congress when nuclear missiles are on their way toward us.

It is also fairly evident that today's cold war brings with it hot actions in the form of half wars, undeclared wars, police actions, and limited hostilities. There was never a declaration of war in

Korea, and we have turned from advice to battle missions in South Vietnam, launched unofficial attacks in the Bay of Pigs, and progressively became more heavily involved in the Dominican Republic publicly as we were secretly in Guatemala, some years ago—all without prior congressional action, or consideration.

Perhaps all of these military and paramilitary actions were proper, could not have been avoided, and, indeed, had to be commenced promptly, to protect our national interest. But it is certain that the Congress had little knowledge and little to say before or after these military actions were taken. Careful study is needed to determine whether and when Congress is entitled to prior knowledge, and the degree and manner of its participation in the decisionmaking process on military involvement abroad.

The conduct of foreign policy is and must be in the hands of the President of the United States and his Secretary of State. But the basic philosophy of our system is one of checks and balances. In the most important area of that policy—the questions of war and peace—the basic system had been dangerously vitiated.

The Central Intelligence Agency has vast powers that, in and of themselves, may create a fait accompli involving us in hostilities abroad. Yet there is little, if any, congressional check or even knowledge of the activities of this Agency.

I have therefore introduced this resolution which would provide for 16 leading Americans and an expert staff to study this whole question for an extended period of time, to hold hearings, and report to the Congress and the President on their findings.

I would hope this Commission would include former Members of Congress, former official of the State Department, and leading experts in the field of constitutional and foreign affairs without regard to partisan background.

It may be that the study will prove that the national security would demand that the present system stay in force. I believe, however, that we in Congress would benefit from the proposed study.

H. CON. RES. 434

Concurrent resolution establishing a congressional Commission on the role of Congress in foreign policy and intelligence activities

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),

CREATION OF COMMISSION

SECTION 1. There is hereby created a Congressional Commission on the Role of Congress in Foreign Policy and Intelligence Activities (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

DUTIES OF COMMISSION

SEC. 2. The Commission shall make a full and complete investigation and study of the role of Congress in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and in all aspects of the intelligence activities of this Nation. In making its investigation and study the Commission shall give special attention (1) to the extent and methods by which Congress should influence foreign policy and intelligence activities and (2) to an examination of the erosion of the power of Congress to declare war.

MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION OF COMMISSION

SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of sixteen members. Eight members shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate and eight members by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Members shall be appointed from among those persons who formerly served in Congress, or in positions in the executive branch of the Government directly relating to foreign policy or intelligence activities, and from among scholars in the field of government organization.

(b) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) The Commission shall elect a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members and shall determine the number of members necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) Members of the Commission shall receive \$— per diem while engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties.

(b) The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949. The Commission may procure, without regard to the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized for the departments by section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, but at rates not to exceed \$— per diem for individuals.

REPORT OF COMMISSION

SEC. 5. On or before the last day of the Eighty-ninth Congress, the Commission shall make a report of its findings and recommendations to the Congress.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. The Commission or any the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee or member thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out this concurrent resolution, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places within and outside the United States, administer such oaths and require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents as the Commission or such subcommittee or member may deem advisable. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the Commission, of such subcommittee, or any duly designated member, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member. The provisions of sections 102 to 104, inclusive, of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U.S.C., title 2, secs. 192-194), shall apply in the case of any failure of any witness to comply with any subpoena or to testify when summoned under authority of this section.

COOPERATION OF OTHER AGENCIES

SEC. 7. The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment, or instrumentality information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purpose of studies conducted under this concurrent resolution; and each such department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, establishment, or instrumentality is requested to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics directly to the Com-

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mission, upon request made by the chairman or vice chairman thereof.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 8. The expenses of the Commission shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, on vouchers signed by the chairman thereof and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

THE LIVING MEMORIAL TO FREEDOM AT EASTON, PA., AREA HIGH SCHOOL

(Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last September 30 I called the attention of my distinguished colleagues to the record established by one of the many excellent schools in my district. I said then that the Nation's future lies in the hands of the young men and women now enrolled in our public and private schools.

At that time, I stated that the new Easton Area High School in Easton, Pa., was one of the most talked about and written about American high schools in the last 10 years, and the most famous of the large new senior high schools built in the past 5 years.

At this time I am proud to say that this school is again distinguishing itself, and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by providing national educational leadership. This leadership is in an area crucial to the continued maintenance and strength of America as a citadel of freedom in a world situation in which increasing pressures are being brought to bear against the very principles of liberty, justice, and human dignity for which America has long stood as a shining hope for all mankind.

The Easton Area High School freedom project, initiated by Carl H. Peterson, principal, and the high school's student council, is designed to show what educators, schools, and their students can do to reaffirm the basic principles underlying our democratic heritage, and to prepare our young people for future responsible citizenship activity by involving them in the making of history today.

In phase 1 of the project, the high school has made its grounds a living memorial to the heritage of the past by creating Freedom Drive, lined with 36 splendid Norway maple trees, each one representing a president of the United States. In front of each of the trees is a 400-pound granite bench, inscribed with the name of the president the tree represents, and the date he held office.

Along Freedom Drive is located United Nations Grove, planted with trees symbolizing the search on the part of all nations for world peace, with the flag of the United Nations flying in the center.

Further along Freedom Drive, Constitution Lane branches off and further encircles the school. Constitution Lane is lined with 10 dogwood trees which formerly grew in the soil at Valley Forge and which represent the 10 Bill of Rights.

These trees were donated to the school by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. A granite stone beneath each of these trees identifies the particular amendment which each Bill of Rights tree represents.

Thirteen white birches also line Constitution Lane, representing the Thirteen Original Colonies. Each of the 13 Colony trees is also identified by a granite bench.

In this phase of the project the school has provided its students, and those to come, with a living reminder of the grandeur of the past and of the basic principles upon which our present freedoms rest.

Phase 2 of the Easton Area High School freedom project is equally, if not more, significant. Tremendously impressed by President Lyndon B. Johnson's historically significant and courageous speech of March 15, in which he states:

There is a time when history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom.

The student council met on the following day. They voted not only to honor the past, but also to involve themselves, along with the President of the United States, in the present crucial moment in American history, and in speeding the cause of true freedom for all mankind.

Again, all the students responded, and in the most significant way possible. It was decided to erect on the front lawn of the high school, adjoining Freedom Drive, the Eastern Area High School freedom shrine.

The freedom shrine is comprised of three trees, the Liberty Tree, the Justice Tree, and the Equality Tree, partially encircling a 4,000-pound, 6-foot granite stone. Inscribed forever on this stone is the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, and above it, the Easton Area High School Freedom Proclamation of 1965.

My distinguished colleagues, I urge you to listen to the following words with care, because they were spoken with courage, firmness, and conviction by 2,000 young Americans on May 24 of this year. I know, because the Honorable CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER, our colleague from Georgia's Fifth District, and I were there and were proud to participate, along with hundreds of citizens from the entire Easton, Pa., area community, in the profound and moving dedication ceremonies signaling the start of a nationwide movement for all schools to stand, as has the Easton Area High School, to reaffirm the grandness of the past and to involve themselves actively in the quest for true freedom and lasting justice for all Americans, and for all mankind in the present.

EASTON AREA HIGH SCHOOL FREEDOM PROCLAMATION, EASTON, PA., MAY 24, 1965

Let it be known to all future generations of Americans who read this, that, in the year 1965, 102 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, " . . . when history and fate met at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom . . . " The Easton Area High School, and those students attending, stood firmly for liberty, justice, and equality for all Americans in their own time.

Congressman WELTNER, the main speaker at the dedication ceremonies, and I were proud to raise together, at the conclusion of the ceremonies, the Capitol flag which now flies over the growing liberty, justice, and equality trees, and over the significantly immovable granite stone on which are inscribed for future generations of students the courageous and moving words spoken by 2,000 young Americans on that day.

I ask you to consider the national impact if every school and its students were to stand behind the President of the United States today and speak out strongly for equal liberty, equal justice, and equal opportunity for All Americans, now, as has the Easton Area High School and its students.

Man's ceaseless search for true freedom would be hastened immeasurably, and historians a hundred years hence would mark the initiation of this movement as a glorious and epic moment in American history; when, 102 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the youth of America, the citizens of tomorrow, rose as a group to declare the time long past for all Americans to be considered truly free and equal in the eyes of God and their fellow citizens.

This is the final aim and intent of the principal of the Easton Area High School and his students. In order to encourage all schools to make, in some way, their own grounds a living memorial to the past, and to issue their own freedom proclamations, this high school is printing, in its own technical shop, 4,000 brochures describing the Easton Area High School freedom project, and is sending these booklets free of charge to schools, leading educators, and service, social, and civic organizations nationwide.

The Easton Area High School freedom project has already received strong National, State, and local endorsement. These written endorsements will be included in the booklet describing the project.

The endorsements received to date, in addition to my own, are as follows:

Treasurer of the United States, Kathryn O'Hay Granahan.

Congressman CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER, Fifth District, Georgia.

Senator HUGH SCOTT, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, Arthur B. Caldwell.

President of the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Dr. Kenneth D. Wells.

Associate secretary, National Association of Secondary School Principals, Dr. J. Lloyd Trump.

Director of the National Association of Student Councils, Gerald M. VanPool.

Gov. William W. Scranton, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Attorney General Walter E. Allesandrini, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Deputy Superintendent Dr. Neal V. Musmanno, Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.

State Senator Justin D. Jirulanio, 17th Senatorial District of Pennsylvania.

State Representative James F. Prendergast, of Pennsylvania.

State Representative Jeanette Reibman, of Pennsylvania.

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<p>Remarks: Attached is an excerpt from the Congressional Record containing the remarks of Representative Scheuer when he introduced a resolution to establish a "Congressional Commission on the Role of Congress in Foreign Policy and Intelligence Activities." He has linked the Agency with the issue over Executive versus Legislative roles in the war making power. He is a freshman congressman from the Bronx. We have had no contacts with him. He is a member of the Education and Labor Committee.</p>			
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 200px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <p>Assistant Legislative Counsel</p>			
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12. Withholding taxes on savings bond interest: The Ryukyu Islands, the principal island of which is Okinawa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific, principally the Caroline, Marshall, and Mariana Islands, although under the protection and control of the United States, are technically foreign territory. Thus, the islanders are nonresident aliens and subject to a 30-percent withholding tax on interest on U.S. savings bonds. This interferes with the selling of U.S. savings bonds. Therefore, the 30-percent withholding tax as it applies to the interest income realized from U.S. savings bonds by native residents of these islands should be eliminated.

In addition to the changes discussed above, the proposed legislation makes a number of clarifying and conforming changes to present law.

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS, REPUBLICAN WHIP

(Mrs. REID of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend her remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I am inserting in the Record a column entitled "Politics, Illinois Viewpoint," by William H. Rentschler, which is a regular column appearing in a number of newspapers in Illinois.

That of February 27, which I am inserting, is of special interest as it pertains to the reelection of our colleague the gentleman from Illinois, LESLIE C. ARENDS, as Republican whip. It bespeaks the high regard we have for him, not only here in this House, but especially throughout the entire State of Illinois.

The article follows:

POLITICS: ILLINOIS VIEWPOINT

(By William H. Rentschler)

"Nice guys finish last," Leo Durocher said it.

But the recent reelection of Congressman LESLIE C. ARENDS, of Melvin, Ill. (population 550), as minority whip of the U.S. House of Representatives, disproves that theory.

Nearly everybody likes the long, lank Illinoisan with the silver ducktail, who first went to Congress the year the Dionne quintuplets were born, who has survived all sorts of Republican disasters, and who has yet to lose an election.

"Nice guy" ARENDS reaped the most recent harvest in January, when the 89th Congress (the 16th in which ARENDS has served) convened. Republicans were smarting from the drubbing of last November 3. Indiana's conservative old pro, CHARLIE HALLECK, had been dumped as minority leader in favor of Congressman GERRY FORD, of Michigan.

The eastern wing of the party, tasting blood, wanted LES ARENDS' scalp, too. They picked Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, a suave, well-born New Jerseyite, to oppose him. FORD, staking a certain measure of prestige on the outcome, said he was backing FRELINGHUYSEN.

The press sensed another Republican rift and gave plenty of ink to this new evidence of internecine warfare. Many felt the "new broom" approach would sweep the veteran ARENDS into the discard.

ARENDS didn't see it quite that way, and showed no evidence of panic as the balloting neared. Long accustomed to rounding up stray votes from the Capitol cloakroom, he and his informal campaign manager, Representative ROBERT H. MICHEL, of Peoria, working with the other nine Illinois GOP Congressmen, had been buttonholing fellow legislators.

Just before the secret vote, ARENDS, the master nose counter, predicted he'd win by 10 votes. He was almost right. The final tally: ARENDS 70, FRELINGHUYSEN 59. Eleven Republican Congressmen were absent, and ARENDS believes he had nine of them.

With the issue settled, LES ARENDS was asked if he could work in harness with the new minority leader. His answer, plain and unvarnished, showed in part why ARENDS has such an incredible record of longevity as whip:

"Of course I'll work with him. Just as hard and as faithfully as I've worked with GERRY's predecessors—JOE MARTIN and CHARLIE HALLECK—over the past 20 years."

He meant just that. Observed highly respected New York Times columnist Arthur Krock: "Few, if any, among the House Republicans doubt that the pledge will be meticulously redeemed."

ARENDS continued, head earnestly forward, peering over his spectacles: "My interest is in the Republican Party and its service to the country. Nothing else. The party is greater than any individual."

That sums up LES ARENDS—no bitterness, no backbiting, no vindictiveness, no negativism. Many other Republicans could take a page from his book.

ARENDS was a gangling country boy when he first arrived in Washington three eventful decades ago. He has known the great, the near great, and the not so great of America over this span of years. He golfed regularly with Ike, has worked intimately with the titans of Congress. He has acquired polish and finesse, yet today, at 69, he is still a gangling, likeable, country boy with a charm faintly reminiscent of Will Rogers. And he is one of those rare men of power without a trace of pomposity or awe of self.

One evening last fall, LES ARENDS drove up from Melvin to Aurora to speak at a dinner honoring his able and beautiful colleague, Representative CHARLOTTE REID. He told a story that night worth repeating.

A man approached a construction site where three men were chipping stone, and he asked each in turn what he was doing.

The first replied, "Can't you see, I'm chipping stone."

The second said, "I'm trying to make a living."

The third looked toward the sky and answered, "I'm building a majestic cathedral."

LES ARENDS' point was that the Republican Party, to succeed and win, must do more than chip stone. They must build a cathedral. Republicans must project a dream that will inspire people. They must offer plans and programs with the magic to stir man's blood.

Some nice guys finish first—like LES ARENDS.

THE BRIDGE AT REMAGEN

(Mr. O'HARA of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the story of the bridge over the Rhine at Remagen is a classic of American heroism, and I am privileged and honored to join with the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. HECHLER], in marking with tenderly remembering remarks the 20th anniversary of an event in World War II in which the daring and the courage and the blinding drive, against incalculable odds of American soldiery reached the heights of the sublime.

Our able colleague from West Virginia, then Captain HECHLER, was there and all the action and all the phases and person-

alities of this classic he has immortalized in his book, one of the really great books of the World War II period that is still among the best sellers. His colleagues in this Chamber look forward to many future occasions when they may join with him in reliving the glory of the bridge at Remagen.

THE LEGISLATION NEEDED TO STRENGTHEN CONGRESSIONAL CONTROLS OVER U.S. INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much lately about the increase in so-called "snooping" by various U.S. Government agencies. The Post Office, for example, has admitted putting "mail covers" on as many as 24,000 persons, and that the practice of watching their mail has been going on for several years.

Food and Drug Administration officials have used concealed tape recorders while visiting businessmen, no advance warning being given that the conversations were being recorded.

And stories are circulated about the CIA operating right here inside the United States—activities ranging from a charity foundation in New York to an oil business in Miami. Certainly we in Florida are aware of CIA activities inside the United States due to the role our State has played in the Cuban situation.

I am asking whether snooping by mail cover, concealed tape recorders, or domestically based close-and-dagger operations are proper activities for the U.S. Government in terms of authority granted by acts of the Congress. Many questions can be raised concerning Government operations going beyond the limits originally authorized by Congress. What assurances have been given that mail covers, taped visits by an agency seemingly outside the intelligence field, and a number of other actions in questionable areas carried out by various Government agencies are not being done at the request of the intelligence community?

To allow this trend to go unchecked would transform the American version of democracy into a police state. Who knows what uses the Government will find for information obtained through invasions of individual privacy? The Congress ought to find out through constant scrutiny of the various agencies concerned.

I urge the establishment of a joint House-Senate watchdog committee to oversee the activities of the CIA, the Defense Department, the State Department, and any other U.S. Government agency concerned with intelligence gathering, interpretation, or operations. The joint committee would have broad jurisdiction, but its jurisdiction would be no broader than that already allowed the U.S. Government agencies engaged in this field.

Intelligence activities are of vital necessity in the world today. Certainly it is of the highest national priority that this Government carry on covert operations, and that they be executed with the

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As part of this revision of the estate tax, the situs rule with respect to bonds should be changed. The present rule, very frequently modified by treaty, is that bonds have situs where they are physically located. This rule is illogical, permits tax avoidance, and is not a suitable way to determine whether bonds are subject to an estate tax as their location is one of their least significant characteristics for tax purposes. Other intangible debt obligations are presently treated as property within the United States if issued by or enforceable against a domestic corporation or resident of the United States. Accordingly, it is recommended that our law be amended to provide that bonds issued by domestic corporations or domestic governmental units and held by nonresident aliens are property within the United States and therefore subject to estate tax.

Furthermore, a present defect in the operation of the credit against the estate tax for State death taxes in the case of nonresident aliens should be corrected. Under present law the estate of a nonresident alien may receive the full credit permitted by section 2011 even though only a portion of the property subject to Federal tax was taxed by a State. The amount of credit permitted by section 2011 in the case of nonresident aliens should be limited to that portion of the credit allowed the estate which is allocable to property taxed by both the State and the Federal Government.

Our gift tax law as it applies to nonresident aliens should be revised. Under present law a nonresident alien doing business in the United States is subject to gift tax on transfers of U.S. intangible property. This rule has little significance from the standpoint of revenue and tax equity. Therefore, our law should be amended to provide that transfers of intangible property by a nonresident alien, whether or not engaged in business in the United States, are not subject to gift tax. Gifts or tangibles situated in the United States which are owned by nonresident aliens will continue to be subject to U.S. gift taxes.

6. Expatriate American citizens: Subject to the U.S. source income of expatriate citizens of the United States to income tax at regular U.S. rates and their U.S. estates to estate tax at regular U.S. rates, where they surrender their U.S. citizenship within 10 years preceding the taxable year in question unless the surrender was not tax motivated.

As a result of the proposed elimination of graduated rates, taken together with the proposed change in our estate tax as it applies to nonresident aliens, an American citizen who gives up his citizenship and moves to a foreign country would be able to very substantially reduce his U.S. estate and income tax liabilities.

While it may be doubted that there are many U.S. citizens who would be willing to give up their U.S. citizenship no matter how substantial the tax incentive, a tax incentive so great might lead some Americans to surrender their citizenship for the ultimate benefit of their families. Thus, it seems desirable, if progressive rates are eliminated for nonresident aliens and our estate tax on the estates of nonresident aliens is significantly reduced, that steps be taken to limit the tax advantages of alienage for our citizens.

The recommended legislation accomplishes this by providing that a nonresident alien who surrendered his U.S. citizenship within the preceding 10 years shall remain subject to tax at regular U.S. rates on all income derived from U.S. sources. A similar rule would apply for estate tax purposes to the U.S. estates of expatriate citizens of the United States. Thus, the U.S. property owned by expatriates would be taxed at the estate tax rates applicable to our citizens (but without the \$60,000 exemption, marital deduction and

other such provisions applicable to our citizens), in cases where the alien decedent's surrender of citizenship took place less than 10 years before the day of his death. The \$30,000 exemption granted nonresident aliens would be allowed to expatriate citizens.

To prevent an expatriate from avoiding regular U.S. rates on his U.S. income by transferring his U.S. property to a foreign corporation, or disposing of it overseas, the recommended legislation treats profits from the sale or exchange of U.S. property by an expatriate as being U.S. source income. To preclude the use of a foreign corporation by an expatriate to hold his U.S. property and thus avoid U.S. estate taxes at regular U.S. rates, an expatriate is treated as owning his pro rata share of the U.S. property held by any foreign corporation in which he alone owns a 10 percent interest and which he, together with related parties, controls. Furthermore, the recommended legislation makes gifts by expatriates of intangibles situated in the United States subject to gift tax.

These provisions would be applicable only to expatriates who surrendered their citizenship after March 8, 1965, and would not apply if contravened by the provisions of a tax convention with a foreign country. Moreover, they would not be applicable if the expatriate can establish that the avoidance of U.S. tax was not a principal reason for his surrender of citizenship.

7. Retaining treaty bargaining position: Provide that the President be given authority to eliminate with respect to a particular foreign country any liberalizing changes which have been enacted, if he finds that the country concerned has not acted to provide reciprocal concessions for our citizens after being requested to do so by the United States.

One difficulty which may arise from the liberalizing changes being proposed in U.S. tax law is that it may place the United States at a disadvantage in negotiating concessions for Americans abroad as respects foreign tax laws. Moreover, the failure to obtain concessions abroad may have an effect upon our revenues since the foreign income and estate tax credits we grant our citizens mean that the United States bears a large share of the burden of foreign taxation of U.S. citizens. To protect the bargaining power of the United States the President should therefore be authorized to reapply present law to the residents of any foreign country which he finds has not acted (when requested by the United States to do so, as in treaty negotiations) to provide for our citizens as respects their U.S. income or estates substantially the same benefits as those enjoyed by its citizens as a result of the proposed legislative changes. The provisions reapplied would be limited to the area or areas where our citizens were disadvantaged. Furthermore, the provisions reapplied could be partly mitigated, if that were desirable, by treaty with the other country.

It is essential, if we are to revise our system of taxing nonresident aliens as is being suggested, that this recommendation be adopted. Otherwise, we risk sacrificing the interests of our citizens subject to tax abroad and reducing our revenues in an effort to simplify the taxes imposed upon nonresident aliens.

8. Quarterly payment of withheld taxes: Provide that withholding agents collecting taxes from amounts paid to nonresident aliens be required to remit such taxes on a quarterly basis.

Under the present system, withholding agents are required to remit taxes withheld on aliens during any calendar year on or before March 15 after the close of such year. This procedure varies considerably from that applicable to domestic income tax withheld from wages and employee and employer FICA

taxes, where quarterly (in some cases monthly) payments are required.

Withholding on income derived by nonresident aliens should be brought more closely into line with the domestic income tax system. There is no reason to permit withholding agents to keep nonresident aliens' taxes for periods which may exceed a full year before being required to remit those taxes, when employers must remit taxes withheld on domestic wages at least quarterly. The Government loses the use of the revenue, which revenue in 1962 exceeded \$80 million, for the entire year. Accordingly, section 1461 requiring the return and payment of taxes withheld on aliens by March 15 should be revised to eliminate this specific requirement. The Secretary or his delegate would then exercise the general authority granted him under sections 6011 and 6071 and require withholding agents to return and remit taxes withheld on income derived by nonresident aliens quarterly. However, no detailed quarterly return would be required.

9. Exemption for bank deposits: Under present law, an exemption from income taxes, withholding, and estate taxes is provided for bank deposits of nonresident alien individuals not doing business in the United States. By administrative interpretation, deposits in some savings and loan associations are treated as bank deposits for purposes of these exemptions, but such exemptions do not apply to most savings and loan associations. There does not appear to be any justification for this distinction between types of savings and loan associations and it should be eliminated by extending these exemptions to all such associations.

10. Foreign tax credit—similar credit requirement: Section 901(b)(3) provides that resident aliens are entitled to a foreign tax credit only if their native country allows a similar credit to our citizens residing in that country. Apparently the provision is designed to encourage foreign countries to grant similar credits to our citizens. However, this requirement works a hardship on refugees from totalitarian governments. For example, the Castro government is not concerned with whether Cubans in this country receive a foreign tax credit. Therefore, it is recommended that the similar credit requirement of section 901(b)(3) be eliminated, subject to reinstatement by the President where the foreign country, upon request, refuses to provide a similar credit for U.S. citizens. Of course, no request would ordinarily be made in a case, such as Cuba, where the possible reinstatement of the present reciprocity requirement would have little or no effect upon the foreign government's policy toward U.S. citizens.

11. Stamp taxes on original issuances and transfers of foreign stocks and bonds in the United States to foreign purchasers: Our stamp tax on certificates of indebtedness is imposed on issuances and transfers within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States. The stamp tax on issuances of stock does not apply to stock issued by a foreign corporation, but the transfer tax applies to transfers in the United States. These taxes have forced U.S. underwriters who handle issuances of foreign bonds and stocks and their original distribution to foreign purchasers to handle closings overseas. In view of the limited association of such issuances and transfers with the United States and the fact that these taxes are ordinarily avoided by moving the transactions outside the United States, our law should be revised to exempt original offerings of foreign issuers to foreign purchasers from our stamp taxes where only the issuances and transfers take place in the United States. Such an exemption would facilitate such transactions and their handling by U.S. underwriters and is consistent with our balance-of-payments objectives.

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tightest secrecy is of the utmost importance. However, the Congress, which authorized such functions to begin with, has a duty to the American people to review these functions on a regular basis.

Intelligence activities have been concentrated in the Central Intelligence Agency, although other Government agencies also carry out phases of this function. No such centralization of this subject matter exists in the Congress. The creation of the joint committee as proposed in my resolution would solve this problem and not only aid coordination in congressional dealing with the intelligence community but assist the intelligence community as well as the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, the intelligence community needs closer congressional review. Former CIA Director Allen Dulles, himself, said that the Congress can keep a secret, and that the early development of the atomic bomb was related to certain Members of Congress is now common knowledge. Security can be protected and in fact improved by the creation of this congressional watchdog committee.

Vice President HUMPHREY introduced legislation similar to the measure I offer today during his service in the Senate. Other Senators and Members of the House have done likewise. I urge the early enactment of legislation to establish this joint committee to oversee the intelligence community. This aspect of the Government is like any other in that if not supervised regularly it will get out of hand.

CLOSING OF VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION FACILITIES

(Mr. ADAIR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues on both sides of the political aisle are aware of the controversy stemming from the administration's announced closing of 11 Veterans' Administration hospitals and 4 domiciliary homes. A subcommittee in the other body and our own Committee on Veterans' Affairs have heard Veterans' Administration spokesmen attempt to justify the closing order. We have heard testimony from opponents of the closing order that contradict the Veterans' Administration statements on this subject.

Whether the Veterans' Administration or its opponents in this matter are in error is somewhat academic at this point. The indisputable fact remains that the Veterans' Administration and the Bureau of the Budget in open testimony before committees of both Houses of Congress have failed to prove administration claims that the announced closings will result in either economy or improved service to veterans.

Certainly, no one is more interested in effecting economy in Government than I. Is it economical to create new depressed communities and make their residents eligible for Federal assistance because the payroll of the closing hospital provides in

excess of 40 percent of the community's income? Is it economical to abandon a Veterans' Administration hospital which was completely renovated and remodeled in 1952 at a cost in excess of \$2 million? Is it economical to abandon a hospital built in 1951? Is it economical to abandon one Veterans' Administration hospital while constructing another less than 100 miles away? Is it economical to transfer patients to hospitals with per diem costs that are higher than those of the closing hospitals?

Can better services to veterans result from the elimination of 3,000 domiciliary beds established for the sole purpose of providing, in the words of a Veterans' Administration publication, "a home—bed, board, and incidental medical care—for men who are so disabled that they cannot support themselves"? Are we providing better service by making a sick veteran travel hundreds of miles from home to obtain the hospital care that a grateful nation has said he deserves? All of these questions, Mr. Speaker, must be answered in the negative.

I have devoted considerable thought to a possible solution to the problem posed by the closing of these installations. The most obvious solution, of course, would be to prohibit the closing of any Veterans' Administration hospital or domiciliary unless approved by the Congress. I do not believe, however, that it would be wise to tie the hands of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in this manner. The shifting veteran population and other factors require that the Administrator have some degree of flexibility in determining the locations of hospitals.

Coincidental to such authority, however, is the responsibility for exercising sound judgment in determining the location of these hospitals. The events of recent weeks have seriously shaken my confidence in the ability of Veterans' Administration officials to exercise sound judgment when confronted with pressures from higher authority.

Therefore, I have today introduced a bill that will require the Veterans' Administration to publish the notice of proposed closings or relocations of hospitals, domiciliaries or outpatient clinics in the Federal Register at least 6 months in advance of the effective date. This provision of my bill will serve to prevent a recurrence of the precipitous action taken by the administration in the present instance. Appropriate committees of the Congress will then have sufficient time to examine the propriety of the action if the circumstances warrant it.

Equally alarming, Mr. Speaker, although somewhat obscured by the intensity of feeling about individual hospital closing, are the long-range implications of the administration's actions. According to information furnished by the Veterans' Administration, 2,536 fewer general and neuropsychiatric hospital beds will be operated in fiscal 1966 than are currently being operated. In these same hospitals, an average patient load of 1,352 fewer veterans will be treated each day in fiscal 1966 than are currently being treated.

Now, the Veterans' Administration will

point with pride to the fact that during this same period they will operate 1,239 more nursing care beds in 1966 than were operated in 1965. Let me remind my colleagues that the Congress in Public Law 88-450 authorized the Administrator to establish and operate 4,000 additional nursing care beds. The report of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs which accompanied this legislation at the time it was favorably reported to the House authorized immediately 2,000 additional nursing care beds. Let me quote from that report, "the 2,000 additional nursing home care beds are to be provided in the immediate future and to be fully operated at the earliest practicable date." The plain facts, Mr. Speaker, are that the administration has failed to view the nursing care beds as additional to the beds already being operated and they have failed to provide them in the immediate future. These figures alarm me, Mr. Speaker, because they represent the erosion of the splendid system of Veterans' Administration hospitals that have been maintained over the years. I am unable to reconcile this colossal disregard of the needs of the Nation's sick and needy aging veterans with the stated goal of the Great Society "to improve the quality of life for all."

The bill which I have introduced today also contains a provision making it mandatory that the Veterans' Administration operate not less than 124,000 general, neuropsychiatric and nursing care beds. This will assure the continued operation of the Veterans' Administration hospital system at least at the 1965 operating level in addition to the 4,000 authorized nursing care beds. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

FEDERAL POWER ACT

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced legislation to clarify the intent of the Federal Power Act.

The Federal Power Commission recently began an effort to regulate intrastate electrical power, already regulated under State laws and not under Federal control in the past.

From recent actions, it is apparent the Federal Power Commission is seeking to regulate the activities of companies engaged in the transmission of electric energy whose operations heretofore have been regulated by the States. Where there is a bona fide interstate transaction the Commission should obviously have jurisdiction and does under the law. But where the transaction is local the Commission has no jurisdiction and should have none. Their extension of authority would result in unnecessary duplication of State and Federal jurisdiction and would cause extra expense to individual companies and consumers because of overlapping requirements regarding the filing of reports and information.

My bill would eliminate the duplication by stating in clear terms that are not subject to misinterpretation that the

Commission is to regulate interstate sales and the States are to regulate intrastate sales.

This legislation would not be necessary had the intent of Congress been carried out as set forth in the original legislation. A situation similar to the present one presented itself in relation to regulation of natural gas almost 10 years ago, when the Commission attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the local distribution of natural gas, even though distribution and sale was being regulated by State agencies. At that time, as well as now with electricity, there was no question of the right of the Federal agency in regard to regulating the interstate transactions. However, they sought to control the intrastate operations of local companies as well.

Congress was quick to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to restore its original intent and preserve local regulation by the States, while in no way restricting the Commission's jurisdiction over interstate distribution. We presently find the Federal Power Commission attempting to extend its jurisdiction in a like manner in the electrical energy field.

It was hoped in the present case of electric power the Commission would look to the instruction of the Congress in regard to the natural gas matter to see congressional intent. Apparently, the Power Commission does not understand the congressional intent and they seek to interpret the Federal Power Act to broaden their own jurisdiction. Congressional action is therefore necessary once again.

ACADEMIC RESEARCH

(Mr. HALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I include herewith an editorial from the Bulletin of the Greene County Medical Society in Springfield, Mo., for February 1965, entitled "A Path and Its Pitfall." It speaks for itself, and I commend it to all Members of the House and specifically those of the 88th Congress' Special Committee on Research and Development, as well as existing ones in the Armed Services Committee on which I serve, and others.

For too long, as one of the trained scientists of the Congress, I have been concerned about direct and indirect overutilization of scientific researchers and technologists throughout the country by Government. I am further concerned by our various universities and post-graduate schools depending too heavily on Federal grants or contracts for research—with or without percentages of overage per project—and so forth. Finally, Mr. Speaker, as a member of the R and D, T and E Subcommittee of the Armed Services, it has become increasingly apparent to me that too much present research is built on the vertical style of blocks such as basic, applied, developmental, testing, engineering, procurement, and possibly, finally, production. The "horizontal approach" is

much better, if the end-result is to be in the hands of those who need it so badly at the earliest practicable date, and supported by taxpayers money inasmuch; as all basic and applied research must eventually come to engineering specifically. Why not simultaneously? Admittedly, research is duplicative and sometimes overlapping and may even be wasteful, but it is the seat of expanded knowledge. Why therefore, I repeat, not engineer, test, and develop good ideas from the caldron of basic and applied research, simultaneously?

Indeed, private industry with its own funds has adopted this "combined system's approach" to R and D, T and E with startling results. This places the finally evolved tool in the hand of the user at a much earlier date, saves time, moneys, and evolves "breakthroughs" of first magnitudes.

Toward that end I am also enclosing my recent news releases showing the folly of too much taxpayers' money support in areas that are analogous to those of "A Path and Its Pitfall" by Wilfred E. Wooldridge, M.D., the editor of the Greene County Medical Society Bulletin.

[From the Bulletin of the Greene County Medical Society, Springfield, Mo., February 1965]

A PATH AND ITS PITFALL

(By Wilfred E. Wooldridge)

The greater part of medical research of the last 10 years has been devoted to the laboratory approach to illness rather than the clinical. This has not been altogether healthy for medicine for a complication of this state of affairs has been a widening breach between the physician in practice and the physician in research, the latter usually representing a teaching institution.

The technical advances of these 10 years have been tremendous and it is not realistic to advocate that the tools thus made available not be used, but it is equally unrealistic to make broad assumptions that human illness can be reduced to the manipulation of mechanical gadgets. It is a failing of the human mind that the thinking process under those circumstances becomes also mechanical, once the leavening of consideration for the illness of a fellow man is somewhere lost beneath all the equipment.

This aseptic approach to medical research in our institutions has resulted in reams of reports so sophisticated that they are of use only in other institutions, thereby bypassing the great legion of medical men who live with patients every day. I do not mean to belittle this pure research, except to the extent that it encroaches upon and replaces that which is applicable to human disease. But such does occur and we must thus beware that the availability of new techniques, and the awesome laboratories in which they are used, not preoccupy us so completely that medicine becomes split into one camp representing the professor and another the practitioner. The implications of such a division are at once obvious, especially in these times so perplexing for medicine.

This trend to purely laboratory science is nowhere more evident than in one of our dermatologic journals which has been undergoing a gradual desiccation of spirit in the decade past. Formerly I found myself referring, time after time, to key reports in that journal, reports which would aid me with my problems of practice. Those pages are well-worn and I love the articles and their wisdom as I love old friends. There

was little love wasted, however, on the November 1964 issue of that same journal which led off with "Experiments in the Sweating on the Palms of the Green Monkey" and proceeded with more and more of the same until I come to "The Direct Effect on ACTH on the Rat Preputial Gland." Both of these projects were accomplished under grants from the National Institutes of Health. I have no argument with them except that they should have appeared in a journal of comparative zoology; this particularly when the society publishing the journal would be out of business without the practicing physician to support it.

Neither has this trend been limited to publications. Indeed, the publishing of such oblique medical articles is only a reflection of where the interest all too frequently lies in our schools of medicine. A good example recently occurred in one of our more prominent schools when the professor of medicine showed commendable vigor in arranging with a great foundation for almost a half-million dollars to endow a chair of dermatology. Once that was accomplished, the professor then hired an immunologist and installed him as professor of dermatology, despite the fact the man could not have diagnosed a case of scabies on a clear day. He was then expected to administer a group of volunteer clinicians and the avowed purpose of the department was the training of young men in dermatology. The result was exactly what a child might expect; internecline revolt, which set the department back several years, but not until the "Precipitation Reactions of the Golden Hamster in a Cold Chamber," or some such piffle, had been thoroughly studied.

I do not presume to chart a path for medical research. I am neither qualified by training nor by mental capacity to do so. But not for a moment do I doubt that a great deal of medical research funds are being foolishly expended, one consequence being that the concentration of interest in our teaching institutions too seldom lies in the training of the young men on whom we must depend tomorrow to heal our sick.

[Release from the office of Representative DURWARD G. HALL]

ANTS IN OUR GRANTS

Representatives DURWARD G. HALL, Republican, of Missouri, believes the Federal Government is betraying its responsibility to the taxpayer by expending vast sums of money on certain research projects "which may not be justified at all, but certainly not in a year when the country experiences a \$5 billion deficit.

"During 1964, the Federal Government through the National Science Foundation allocated \$358,551,437 in research projects which are incredibly broad in scope. No doubt many of these projects are valid, but I suspect many others should more rightly be financed by interested private foundations rather than by the taxpayers.

"Academic research often serves as useful purposes, but it's not such a 'sacred cow' that we can afford to allocate such great amounts of Federal funds for every purpose under the sun. In many cases, the lure of Federal money diverts thousands of professors from their primary duty to teach, while their classes are taught instead by assistants chosen from among students."

Among the research grants questioned by HALL, and listed in the latest compilation by the National Science Foundation:

Population Biology of Indo-Australian Ants—\$70,000; The Analysis of Nest Building in *Textor Cucullatus*—\$36,000; Decision-making in Small Groups—\$89,000; Preparation of a Handbook of Middle American Indians—\$124,700; Studies of Social Institutions—\$88,100; Ambiguity in Personality Assessment—\$80,000; Prehispanic Settlement Patterns of Teotihuacan—\$17,900; Formal

mission, upon request made by the chairman or vice chairman thereof.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 8. The expenses of the Commission shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, on vouchers signed by the chairman thereof and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

THE LIVING MEMORIAL TO FREEDOM AT EASTON, PA., AREA HIGH SCHOOL

(Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last September 30 I called the attention of my distinguished colleagues to the record established by one of the many excellent schools in my district. I said then that the Nation's future lies in the hands of the young men and women now enrolled in our public and private schools.

At that time, I stated that the new Easton Area High School in Easton, Pa., was one of the most talked about and written about American high schools in the last 10 years, and the most famous of the large new senior high schools built in the past 5 years.

At this time I am proud to say that this school is again distinguishing itself, and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by providing national educational leadership. This leadership is in an area crucial to the continued maintenance and strength of America as a citadel of freedom in a world situation in which increasing pressures are being brought to bear against the very principles of liberty, justice, and human dignity for which America has long stood as a shining hope for all mankind.

The Easton Area High School freedom project, initiated by Carl H. Peterson, principal, and the high school's student council, is designed to show what educators, schools, and their students can do to reaffirm the basic principles underlying our democratic heritage, and to prepare our young people for future responsible citizenship activity by involving them in the making of history today.

In phase 1 of the project, the high school has made its grounds a living memorial to the heritage of the past by creating Freedom Drive, lined with 36 splendid Norway maple trees, each one representing a president of the United States. In front of each of the trees is a 400-pound granite bench, inscribed with the name of the president the tree represents, and the date he held office.

Along Freedom Drive is located United Nations Grove, planted with trees symbolizing the search on the part of all nations for world peace, with the flag of the United Nations flying in the center.

Further along Freedom Drive, Constitution Lane branches off and further encircles the school. Constitution Lane is lined with 10 dogwood trees which formerly grew in the soil at Valley Forge and which represent the 10 Bill of Rights.

These trees were donated to the school by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. A granite stone beneath each of these trees identifies the particular amendment which each Bill of Rights tree represents.

Thirteen white birches also line Constitution Lane, representing the Thirteen Original Colonies. Each of the 13 Colony trees is also identified by a granite bench.

In this phase of the project the school has provided its students, and those to come, with a living reminder of the grandeur of the past and of the basic principles upon which our present freedoms rest.

Phase 2 of the Easton Area High School freedom project is equally, if not more, significant. Tremendously impressed by President Lyndon B. Johnson's historically significant and courageous speech of March 15, in which he states:

There is a time when history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom.

The student council met on the following day. They voted not only to honor the past, but also to involve themselves, along with the President of the United States, in the present crucial moment in American history, and in speeding the cause of true freedom for all mankind.

Again, all the students responded, and in the most significant way possible. It was decided to erect on the front lawn of the high school, adjoining Freedom Drive, the Eastern Area High School freedom shrine.

The freedom shrine is comprised of three trees, the Liberty Tree, the Justice Tree, and the Equality Tree, partially encircling a 4,000-pound, 6-foot granite stone. Inscribed forever on this stone is the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, and above it, the Easton Area High School Freedom Proclamation of 1965.

My distinguished colleagues, I urge you to listen to the following words with care, because they were spoken with courage, firmness, and conviction by 2,000 young Americans on May 24 of this year. I know, because the Honorable CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER, our colleague from Georgia's Fifth District, and I were there and were proud to participate, along with hundreds of citizens from the entire Easton, Pa., area community, in the profound and moving dedication ceremonies signaling the start of a nationwide movement for all schools to stand, as has the Easton Area High School, to reaffirm the grandness of the past and to involve themselves actively in the quest for true freedom and lasting justice for all Americans, and for all mankind in the present.

EASTON AREA HIGH SCHOOL FREEDOM PROCLAMATION, EASTON, PA., MAY 24, 1965

Let it be known to all future generations of Americans who read this, that, in the year 1965, 102 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, " . . . when history and fate met at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom . . ." The Easton Area High School, and those students attending, stood firmly for liberty, justice, and equality for all Americans in their own time.

Congressman WELTNER, the main speaker at the dedication ceremonies, and I were proud to raise together, at the conclusion of the ceremonies, the Capitol flag which now flies over the growing liberty, justice, and equality trees, and over the significantly improved granite stone on which are inscribed for future generations of students the courageous and moving words spoken by 2,000 young Americans on that day.

I ask you to consider the national impact if every school and its students were to stand behind the President of the United States today and speak out strongly for equal liberty, equal justice, and equal opportunity for all Americans, now, as has the Easton Area High School and its students.

Man's ceaseless search for true freedom would be hastened immeasurably, and historians a hundred years hence would mark the initiation of this movement as a glorious and epic moment in American history; when 102 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the youth of America, the citizens of tomorrow, rose as a group to declare the time long past for all Americans to be considered truly free and equal in the eyes of God and their fellow citizens.

This is the final aim and intent of the principal of the Easton Area High School and his students. In order to encourage all schools to make, in some way, their own grounds a living memorial to the past, and to issue their own freedom proclamations, this high school is printing, in its own technical shop, 4,000 brochures describing the Easton Area High School freedom project, and is sending these booklets free of charge to schools, leading educators, and service, social, and civic organizations nationwide.

The Easton Area High School freedom project has already received strong National, State, and local endorsement. These written endorsements will be included in the booklet describing the project.

The endorsements received to date, in addition to my own, are as follows:

Treasurer of the United States, Kathryn O'Hay Granahan.

Congressman CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER, Fifth District, Georgia.

Senator HUGH SCOTT, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Senator JOSEPH J. CLARK, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, Arthur B. Caldwell.

President of the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Dr. Kenneth D. Wells.

Associate secretary, National Association of Secondary School Principals, Dr. J. Lloyd Trump.

Director of the National Association of Student Councils, Gerald M. VanPool.

Gov. William W. Scrantom, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Attorney General Walter E. Alessandrini, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Deputy Superintendent, Dr. Neal V. Musmanno, Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.

State Senator Justin P. Jirolanio, 17th Senatorial District of Pennsylvania.

State Representative James F. Prendergast, of Pennsylvania.

State Representative Janet Reibman, of Pennsylvania.

June 9, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 31, 1965.

Pollution of the air threatens the health and welfare of our citizens, diminishes the economic vitality of our Nation, and mars and obscures the beauty of our cities, parks, and open spaces.

It is, therefore, important that we give high priority to efforts to achieve and maintain control of the many sources of air contamination. Neglect of this need today will only mean a more serious problem tomorrow.

Under the Clean Air Act of 1963, the Federal Government is helping our cities and States meet their responsibility for developing air pollution control programs capable of dealing with this problem. In order to make full use of the Clean Air Act, however, cities and States need public understanding and support.

Cleaner Air Week focuses attention on the national air pollution problems and means for combating it, and I commend the Air Pollution Control Association for its continuing sponsorship of this worthwhile event.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

(Mr. BROWN of California (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BROWN of California's remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. GONZALEZ' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. GONZALEZ' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION ON THE ROLE OF CONGRESS IN FOREIGN POLICY AND INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(Mr. SCHEUER (at the request of Mr. KREBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, it is clearly evident that Congress constitutional warmaking prerogative exists today only on paper. In any major nuclear holocaust all of the buttons will have been pushed before Congress would have a chance to meet.

We can hardly expect any President seriously to attempt to go before Congress when nuclear missiles are on their way toward us.

It is also fairly evident that today's cold war brings with it hot actions in the form of half wars, undeclared wars, police actions, and limited hostilities. There was never a declaration of war in

Korea, and we have turned from advice to battle missions in South Vietnam, launched unofficial attacks in the Bay of Pigs, and progressively became more heavily involved in the Dominican Republic publicly as we were secretly in Guatemala, some years ago—all without prior congressional action, or consideration.

Perhaps all of these military and paramilitary actions were proper, could not have been avoided, and, indeed, had to be commenced promptly, to protect our national interest. But it is certain that the Congress had little knowledge and little to say before or after these military actions were taken. Careful study is needed to determine whether and when Congress is entitled to prior knowledge, and the degree and manner of its participation in the decisionmaking process on military involvement abroad.

The conduct of foreign policy is and must be in the hands of the President of the United States and his Secretary of State. But the basic philosophy of our system is one of checks and balances. In the most important area of that policy—the questions of war and peace—the basic system had been dangerous vitiated.

The Central Intelligence Agency has vast powers that, in and of themselves, may create a fait accompli involving us in hostilities abroad. Yet there is little, if any, congressional check or even knowledge of the activities of this Agency.

I have therefore introduced this resolution which would provide for 16 leading Americans and an expert staff to study this whole question for an extended period of time, to hold hearings, and report to the Congress and the President on their findings.

I would hope this Commission would include former Members of Congress, former official of the State Department, and leading experts in the field of constitutional and foreign affairs without regard to partisan background.

It may be that the study will prove that the national security would demand that the present system stay in force. I believe, however, that we in Congress would benefit from the proposed study.

H. CON. RES. 434

Concurrent resolution establishing a congressional Commission on the role of Congress in foreign policy and intelligence activities

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),

CREATION OF COMMISSION

SECTION 1. There is hereby created a Congressional Commission on the Role of Congress in Foreign Policy and Intelligence Activities (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

DUTIES OF COMMISSION

SEC. 2. The Commission shall make a full and complete investigation and study of the role of Congress in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and in all aspects of the intelligence activities of this Nation. In making its investigation and study the Commission shall give special attention (1) to the extent and methods by which Congress should influence foreign policy and intelligence activities and (2) to an examination of the erosion of the power of Congress to declare war.

MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION OF COMMISSION

SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of sixteen members. Eight members shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate and eight members by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Members shall be appointed from among those persons who formerly served in Congress, or in positions in the executive branch of the Government directly relating to foreign policy or intelligence activities, and from among scholars in the field of government organization.

(b) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) The Commission shall elect a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members and shall determine the number of members necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) Members of the Commission shall receive \$— per diem while engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties.

(b) The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949. The Commission may procure, without regard to the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized for the departments by section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, but at rates not to exceed \$— per diem for individuals.

REPORT OF COMMISSION

SEC. 5. On or before the last day of the Eighty-ninth Congress, the Commission shall make a report of its findings and recommendations to the Congress.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee or member thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out this concurrent resolution, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places within and outside the United States, administer such oaths, and require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents as the Commission or such subcommittee or member may deem advisable. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the Commission, of such subcommittee, or any duly designated member, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member. The provisions of sections 102 to 104, inclusive, of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U.S.C., title 2, secs. 192-194), shall apply in the case of any failure of any witness to comply with any subpoena or to testify when summoned under authority of this section.

COOPERATION OF OTHER AGENCIES

SEC. 7. The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment, or instrumentality information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purpose of studies conducted under this concurrent resolution; and each such department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, establishment, or instrumentality is requested to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics directly to the Com-

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But this clearly isn't Clague's style. Although from time to time he has called attention to such problems as teenage unemployment and dislocations brought by automation," he made plain the other day that he considers the Bureau's mission as primarily statistical. Let others analyze the data FLS assembles.

Clague—a restless, voluble man of 68 who alternately sits, stands, paces and rearranges furniture, gesticulating the while—was asked about the highpoints of his stewardship. He mentioned the labor and business advisory committees he set up and the vindication BLS has received after several attacks such as a Reader's Digest article several years ago that suggested unemployment figures are inflated to promote administration social programs.

But Clague had hinted at perhaps a signal accomplishment in earlier conversation. He had observed that the United States was handicapped in coping with the Great Depression because it lacked an adequate statistical profile of the Nation's economy.

Today, he ventured, more complete and sophisticated statistics on wages, incomes, employment and productivity give business, Government and labor a firmer basis for decisionmaking. Clague said he felt this had helped smooth out the business cycle and halt wide swings between boom and bust.

CHANGING GUARD AT BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Few Government agencies play so pervasive a role in the Nation's economic life as the Bureau of Labor Statistics. When the BLS Consumer Price Index rises, millions of workers who are covered by escalation clauses in labor contracts get automatic wage increases. A significant rise in the BLS Wholesale Price Index is a signal to policymakers that they should move to counter inflationary pressures. And an increase in the rate of unemployment, which BLS estimates with the cooperation of the Census Bureau, may indicate the need for a fiscal or monetary stimulus. It is difficult to conceive of a national labor contract negotiated or an economic policy formulated without the statistical information provided by the BLS.

Ewan Clague served as Commissioner of the BLS from 1946 to 1965 with a single year off in which he was a special assistant to the Secretary of Labor. The country is indebted to him, not only for long years of leadership, but for striving to maintain the integrity of the BLS as an objective agency at times when there were pressures to twist results in conformity with political preconceptions. His probity and refusal to become involved in Labor Department policymaking have established a standard of excellence toward which all future commissioners should aspire.

Mr. Clague passes on to his successor, Arthur M. Ross, an agency that is performing its tasks with efficiency and competence. This is not to say, however, that the work of the BLS could not be substantially improved. Its statistics have been the subject of two major investigations in recent years. In 1961 the Stigler Committee, reporting to the Bureau of the Budget, pointed to the weaknesses of the BLS price indices and made suggestions for their improvement. And in 1962 the Gordon Committee, appointed by the President, made a searching analysis of the employment statistics.

Although the BLS is acting upon the recommendations of the Stigler and Gordon Committees, there is much work to be done. The usefulness of the Wholesale Price Index is still limited by the dependence on posted or book prices rather than the prices at which sales are actually transacted. There should be BLS indices of export and import prices. And the Consumers Price Index

would be strengthened if greater account could be taken of changes in quality, admittedly an area in which great difficulties are encountered.

Economic decisions, whether made in industry or Government, can hardly be much better than the statistical information on which they are based. The growth of the American economy and the proliferation of its links with the rest of the world are generating a demand for statistical information of the highest quality. Whether the BLS can meet the challenge may well hinge on the new Commissioner's ability to infuse the organization with the spirit of innovation that spells the difference between mere competence and brilliance.

[Signature]

LET US SUPERVISE THE CIA

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the recent disclosures regarding activities of the Central Intelligence Agency in Singapore are disgraceful. After denying that an agent of the CIA offered a bribe of \$3,300,000 some 5 years ago to Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, of Singapore, officials of the State Department a few hours later were forced to make the admission that this had occurred. This following the time Mr. Yew indignantly produced the letter in which Secretary of State Dean Rusk had apologized for the incident. This latest example of CIA bungling raises many questions. Will we ever know just what the CIA has been doing these past years, and how much of our taxpayers' money this agency has been spending?

Mr. President, there was published in the Washington Post of September 7 an excellent article written by Stanley Karnow, staff writer, entitled "U.S. Image in Southeast Asia Suffers From Clumsy Intrigues of Agents," which details CIA activities in southeast Asia which have embarrassed top officials of our Nation over the years. I commend this to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 7, 1965]
ESPIONAGE ATTEMPTS IN THE 1950'S RECALLED—
U.S. IMAGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA SUFFERS FROM CLUMSY INTRIGUES OF AGENTS

(By Stanley Karnow)

In a petulant mood one day last week, Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew gave an intriguing glimpse into history. Late in 1960, he disclosed, a Central Intelligence Agency operative had offered him a \$3-million bribe to conceal a bungled American espionage attempt. The shadowy affair allegedly involved girls, too—or as Lee put it, "like James Bond, only not so good."

On Wednesday, Wisconsin Democrat Clement Zablocki's House subcommittee on foreign affairs is scheduled to begin a closed inquiry into "what happened in Singapore."

But what happened in Singapore, though rather embarrassing, was relatively innocuous compared to an assortment of even clumsier covert efforts of Americans in southeast Asia over the years. For example:

In Burma more than a decade ago, U.S. secret agents striving to influence Burmese political leanings were somehow sidetracked into the more rewarding pursuit of opium trading.

In Cambodia, U.S. secret agents were indirectly involved in an abortive coup d'etat contrived to overthrow Prince Sihanouk's government.

In Indonesia, U.S. secret agents backed a desultory rebellion aimed at undermining President Sukarno.

In Laos, U.S. secret agents' operations ranged from stuffing ballot boxes to bulwarking a full-scale military offensive by insurgents against the country's capital.

None of the operations really succeeded in any significant, long-range sense. Some served to justify local leaders' doubts or hostility toward the United States. And nearly everywhere in southeast Asia, though supposedly clandestine, American covert activities were widely known.

The first of these earnest efforts, back in the 1950's, was focused on the tangled jungles of northwest Burma. Decried by the Communists in China, bands of Chinese Nationalist troops had retreated into this area, where they became brisk opium traders. It was considered, however, that they might perform a nobler purpose.

As it does now, Burma of those days adhered to a neutralist line. But neutralism, insisted the then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, was not only immoral but shortsighted. Thus a scheme was devised to help the Burmese see the light.

The remnant Chinese Nationalists would be inspired to provoke the China into attacking Burma, thereby forcing the Burmese to seek salvation in the Western camp. Ingenious as it was, though, the plan worked poorly.

For one thing, the Americans assigned to supply the Nationalists with weapons and gold enlisted the aid of Gen. Phao Sriyanod, the police chief of neighboring Thailand. But Phao, a leading narcotics dealer, cared little about international politics. He simply wanted to latch on to the Nationalists' opium.

And under his aegis, an operation originally dedicated to saving Burmese souls soon degenerated into a lucrative narcotics traffic. Aircraft mobilized to supply the Nationalists were mostly employed to transport opium, and several American agents, unable to resist temptation, eagerly joined in the smuggling. Finally, in 1953, Gen. William (Wild Bill) Donovan went out to Bangkok, ostensibly as U.S. Ambassador, effectively to clean up the mess.

The whole maneuver, obviously conceived and artlessly executed, had inevitable repercussions. Blaming the United States for supporting the Chinese Nationalists on their territory, the Burmese denounced American aid and came close to cutting the United Nations. For other motives as well, Burma has since found an accommodation with Communist China more advantageous.

The abortive Burmese experience evidently did not deter further covert efforts, however. In 1958, a somewhat different sort of tactic was initiated against another uncooperative leader, Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

Financed by U.S. funds and equipment, a team of South Vietnamese operatives joined Cambodian rebels in attempting to overthrow Sihanouk and replace him with Dap Chuon, then the Cambodian Minister of Security. The plot fell apart when loyal Cambodian troops invaded the rebel headquarters, killed Dap Chuon and discovered among the insurgents a U.S. information Agency employee.

Only a month before Sihanouk had publicly praised U.S. aid and denied any intention of flirting with communism. After the plot against him, he promptly recognized Red China and rejected a new offer of American assistance.

About the same time, U.S. operatives began to cast an eye toward Indonesia, where local army commanders scattered across the farflung archipelago were rumbling against President Sukarno's government. Some objected to growing Communist strength; others had regional grievances.

States. The text of the committee's letter is as follows:

SEPTEMBER 4, 1965.

This letter confirms the agreement reached by the presidents of the National Collegiate Athletic Association and the Amateur Athletic Union and the U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce on September 1, 1965.

First, each president agreed to return to the board of directors of his organization and personally urge that his board of directors unconditionally accept binding arbitration on all issues in all amateur sports, now and in the future. The chairman informed each president that if such arbitration was agreed to, then an independent board of arbitration would be appointed by the Vice President of the United States, pursuant to a Senate resolution. The Board of Arbitration would be of a permanent and continuing nature, composed of distinguished, disinterested citizens not directly involved in the current dispute, and would be empowered to determine all relevant facts and issues and render decisions. The decisions of the Board of Arbitration would be final and binding on all the parties, their members, associates, and affiliates. Each president agreed to report to the chairman by September 7, 1965, the full acceptance (or rejection) of his board of directors as to such binding arbitration.

Second, the chairman informed both parties that in the event either group declined by a vote of its board of directors to accept binding arbitration, then the Committee on Commerce would initiate appropriate action to effect binding arbitration by statute.

Third, each president agreed to personally request that his respective board of directors accept without reservation the following moratorium to govern the conduct of amateur sport until the Board of Arbitration renders its decision:

(a) An immediate and general amnesty shall be granted to all individuals, institutions, and organizations affected by this dispute in any amateur sport.

(b) Any disciplinary action proposed or pending against individuals, institutions, and organizations for reasons related to such dispute shall be suspended.

(c) Any discrimination against the full use of all available facilities and athletes for scheduled meets and tournaments shall be discontinued.

Each President agreed to report the decision of its board of directors concerning the moratorium to the chairman by September 7, 1965.

Fourth, the chairman informed both parties that in the event either group declined to accept the moratorium then appropriate action would be taken by the committee.

Fifth, until the Board of Arbitration renders its decision, each president agreed that he would personally exert every effort to maintain a harmonious and cooperative relationship among all amateur athletic organizations. Each president agreed that there was no reason why men of good will could not prevent the current dispute from disrupting athletic contests until a final judgment could be made by the Board of Arbitration.

On behalf of the committee, I believe that affirmative responses from both organizations may lead to the kind of amateur athletic programs this country should have.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN G. MAGNUSON,

Chairman.

PROVISIONS OF THE RESOLUTION

The resolution is deliberately broad and free of restrictions. It is designed to give the arbitration panel authority which is as broad as the problems. Other parties and groups, in addition to the NCAA and AAU, are deeply affected by the disputes involving the administration of track and field, and the Arbitration Board needs to have authority and scope sufficient to deal with their in-

terests in the matter. Likewise, it is not specifically limited to the current dispute involving the administration of track and field. Unfortunately, it appears that comparable disputes may arise in connection with other sports and the committee desires the Board to have the power to deal with these sports, should it become necessary.

It is not intended that the members of the Board will receive compensation or allowances for expenses from the Government, or that the Government will incur any additional expenses by reason of the adoption of this resolution.

The resolution also includes provisions relating to a moratorium which it expects will permit the fall and winter track and field meets to operate free of the hindrances which the dispute has caused in the past.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, that concludes the call of the calendar.

EWAN CLAGUE—GREAT CONTRIBUTOR TO SOUND ECONOMIC POLICY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I notice that on the Executive Calendar is the nomination of Arthur M. Ross, of California, to be Commissioner of Labor Statistics. He is to replace Ewan Clague, who has served as Commissioner of Labor Statistics for many years.

Mr. President, what is the single factor most responsible for the advancement of economic policy, for the new confidence our Nation has in the capacity of government to help this free economy of ours grow and provide jobs and opportunity for 200 million Americans?

In my judgment it is the quantity and quality of statistics we now have about this huge and complicated economy of ours.

There are few if any men more responsible for the excellence of those statistics—for their steady improvement in quality and for the constantly more accurate and detailed picture they give of our economy—than Ewan Clague.

Mr. Clague is retiring as Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics after 19 immensely productive years. They have been the 19 most productive years for economic statistics in America and for improved knowledge of our economy in American history.

There has never been a period like it. Just think: Ewan Clague's service spans that great charter of economic policymaking—the Employment Act of 1946. That act set this Nation and its Federal Government squarely in the direction of responsible understanding of just how this economy of ours operates by declaring it shall be the policy of the Congress and the Federal Government to achieve the fullest possible employment, growth, and price stability.

In a fine article in the Washington Post on Sunday, September 19, 1965, Frank Porter, paid tribute to "Ewan Clague, the Impartial." This morning's Post also carries an editorial that pays tribute to Mr. Clague. That editorial reads in part:

The country is indebted to him (Clague) not only for long years of leadership, but for striving to maintain the integrity of the BLS as an objective agency at times when there were pressures to twist results in conformity with political preconceptions. His probity and refusal to become involved in

Labor Department policymaking have established a standard of excellence toward which all future Commissioners should aspire.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Frank Porter and the editorial in the Post entitled "Changing Guard at BLS" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATISTICS BOSS RETIRING: EWAN CLAGUE, THE IMPARTIAL

(By Frank C. Porter)

"Our figures belong to the country. * * * The public will manage its own business if it knows the facts."

In this simple, offhand observation, Ewan Clague, perhaps unwittingly, spelled out both the credo and epitaph of his career while reminiscing about his 19 years as Commissioner of Labor Statistics the other day. Clague has dedicated himself over this span to keeping these statistics, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion and free of political controversy. Ironically, he has involved himself in controversy by doing so.

It could not be otherwise. Despite its lack of surface glamour, the Bureau of Labor Statistics is one of the more strategic Government agencies; the data it collects and processes have vast, if indirect, implications for administration economic policy.

If its various time series on retail and wholesale prices begin a precipitous rise, as in the 1950's, they can spur the Federal Reserve Board into a drastic tightening of money and credit, thereby bringing on a widespread economic slowdown.

If its closely watched monthly unemployment rate hangs at a high level, as in the 1958-64 period, this can help spawn a proliferation of social legislation such as manpower retraining, aid to depressed areas, and antipoverty programs.

If its tables on worker productivity (physical output per man-hour) show a sharp acceleration, they can help inflate the bargaining demands of labor unions and cause important shifts in the administration's anti-inflationary wage guidepost.

Consequently, any major and sustained error in these indexes could result in the Federal Government administering the wrong medicine to the wrong ailment at the wrong time.

The Bureau's implicit power is belied by the kindly, ingenious, professorial bearing of Ewan Clague—a sort of statistical Mr. Chips who is retiring later this fall.

Although his successor, Arthur M. Ross, of the University of California at Berkeley, bears excellent credentials, the memory of Clague will evoke more than a little nostalgia in years to come.

"I don't know of anyone who dislikes Ewan Clague," says Nathaniel Goldfinger, research director of the AFL-CIO. "He defended and protected the integrity of BLS and rebuilt its prestige after it had been under fire." (Before his appointment in 1946, the Bureau was bitterly attacked by organized labor for allegedly understating the consumer price index, to which wartime wage increases had been geared.)

At the same time, Goldfinger won't take back a critical appraisal he wrote 15 years ago for the Bureau's own publication, the Monthly Labor Review.

"The growth of collection and time series, however, seems to have become one-sided to the detriment of analytical work and meaningful studies of current problems * * *," Goldfinger wrote. "A greater degree of analytical work by the Bureau and more direct contact with the living experience of industries and workers, when combined with the present high level of statistical techniques, would be most fruitful in expanding the areas of our social and economic knowledge."

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As rebellion spread through Sumatra, east Java and other outlying areas, Secretary Dulles intruded with the opinion that the United States wished for Indonesia a regime that "reflects the real interests and desires of the people." Against the opposition of American diplomats in Djakarta, covert U.S. support for the rebels started to flow south from bases in Formosa and the Philippines. One American pilot, Allan Lawrence Pope, was shot down while on a bombing mission over Indonesia.

Undercover U.S. help to the Indonesian rebels was never extensive, it seems. It was enough, however, to reinforce Sukarno's distrust of the United States. Some specialists believe it was a turning point, after which Indonesian-American relations have steadily slid downhill.

By contrast, CIA operatives fanned out through primitive Laos with the authority of game wardens in a national park. They selected and subsidized local political leaders, and actuated uprisings. They so rigged the April 1960 elections that all the contested seats were won by rightwingers. In one constituency their chosen candidate received 18,000 votes while his pro-Communist opponent polled only 4.

Later in 1960, while a State Department spokesman warned that civil war would only help the Communists, a team of covert American advisers engineered Gen. Phoumi Nosavan's drive against Vientiane, the seat of the neutralist government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma. One effect of the turmoil was to open the way for Soviet intervention into Laos.

After the Bay of Pigs disaster, President Kennedy fortified a watchdog committee to supervise CIA activities, and the day of romantic undercover operations waned. But there is still talk in Washington of putting the CIA under some kind of firm surveillance.

And as Lee Kuan Yew reflected in his Singapore charge, the notion still persists that U.S. policy in southeast Asia is planned and activated by characters out of Ian Fleming novels—not only so good. In the popular image, these characters topple governments, subvert leaders, and seduce dragon ladies.

But whether the image is always true or sometimes exaggerated, U.S. policy is often a victim of its image.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in addition to its mistakes in southeast Asia, everyone is aware of the damage to our prestige caused by CIA bungling of the U-2 incident of 5 years ago and of the stupid and disastrous role CIA operatives played in the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion.

Wrapped in its cloak of secrecy, the CIA has, in effect, been making foreign policy. In so doing, it has assumed responsibilities which were heretofore solely those of the President and Congress. The CIA has gradually taken on the character of an invisible government, answerable only to itself.

When Congress created the Central Intelligence Agency in 1947, the Agency was given no power to formulate foreign policy. Its purpose was to centralize the collection and evaluation of intelligence information and material. Today, almost 20 years later, this Agency, with thousands upon thousands of employees, spends more money than the State Department and, at times, has more real influence on important matters of foreign policy. The Director of the CIA is generally recognized as one of the most powerful men in Washington.

The Founding Fathers—the architects of our Constitution—gave Congress

alone the power to give advice and consent to the President in making treaties with foreign nations. Congress is also the source of all foreign policy legislation, including all appropriations for foreign assistance and needed expenditures.

Of course, the Founding Fathers could not have envisioned this space age of change and challenge with its cold war and highly developed methods of espionage, counterespionage, and subversion. No one questions the need for secrecy in these activities in which every great power must engage in this grim period of international anarchy.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Ohio has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, however, such an Agency has no business infringing on the responsibilities of the State Department, the Defense Department and Congress. This must stop. The CIA must be made accountable not only to the President but also to Congress through a responsible committee of Congress.

My belief is that the CIA is also overstaffed and is spending too much of taxpayers' money. Frankly, I could not prove that. No Member of Congress could. This is another reason why there should be a joint committee of Congress to act as watchdog and to direct and supervise the operations and expenditures of this sprawling Central Intelligence Agency.

I suggest that a joint congressional committee be appointed composed of the chairmen and ranking minority members of the Senate and House Committees on Armed Services, Appropriations, and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Also, that the majority and minority leaders of the Senate and House of Representatives be included as members if they feel they can spare the time necessary for this added work. It is long past due for Congress to assert itself in this regard.

There should be constant supervision by the representatives of the people of the entire CIA operation. This Agency does not account to anyone for the expenditure of millions of dollars. Undoubtedly some CIA agents have been corrupted along with attempting to corrupt officials of other governments.

Furthermore, stupidity on the part of CIA agents can bring scorn from officials of other nations. This, as well as venality, should be exposed. Let Congress determine what is the dividing line between proper intelligence work and tough but honorable political warfare on the one hand, and dishonorable and corrupt activities on the other. Let Congress reassert that this Nation has ideals and principles, that CIA agents and all officials of our Government must face tough situations in an honorable manner.

Some Members of Congress fear that

the security of the CIA might be compromised by the establishment of a watchdog committee. I believe such fears to be entirely unwarranted. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy which handles highly sensitive and secret information has an excellent security record. Its members have proved to be fully as reliable as the hundreds of civil service, military employees and presidential appointees who have knowledge in this highly sensitive field.

A small Joint Committee on Intelligence Activities such as I have proposed would provide the safeguards necessary to prevent further abuses of power by the CIA. It would assure that Congress is included in the making of decisions vital to our national security in accordance with the provisions and intent of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PROXMIER in the chair). Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I commend the Senator from Ohio for the speech he has just made on the CIA. As the Senator knows, for several years I have been strongly urging the creation of a congressional watchdog committee on the CIA. Some of my speeches to the American people have pointed out what I consider to be the cancerous nature of the CIA in our body politic.

What the CIA really represents is a police state institution. There is no place in a democracy for any agency of Government not subject to the direct control of Congress and not subject to the knowledge of Congress when its committees ask for information.

Let me say to the American people that unless they take note of the growing threat of control of this Republic by such agencies as the Pentagon and the CIA, they are going to lose their freedom in our time.

Let me say further, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Relations, that I am aware of some of the conduct of CIA in Latin America. I repeat, the CIA has much to which to answer in the deterioration of America's image in South and Central America.

The CIA must assume responsibility, in considerable share for what I consider to be the mismanagement of our policy in the Dominican Republic.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I am grateful to the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon for his comments, and that he and I are in complete agreement on this subject.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of morning business, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. SALTONSTALL) be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TEMPORARY EXTENSION OF EXISTING SUSPENSION OF DUTIES ON CERTAIN CLASSIFICATIONS OF YARN OF SILK—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 5768) to extend for an additional temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarn of silk. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report. (For conference report, see House proceedings of September 13, 1965, p. 22765, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, so far as I know, there is no objection to the conference report.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Louisiana yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Young of Ohio in the chair). Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I did not hear the Senator. Will he give a brief explanation of the conference report?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. This was a bill which passed the House and Senate which had to do with the continuation of the suspension of duty on silk yarn. A Senate amendment was added and we could not obtain House agreement, but the House did call upon the President for a study. When that study is completed, we hope that we may be able to obtain action along the line recommended.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, this is the conference report on H.R. 5768, a bill to extend for an additional temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain yarns of silk. Under the bill, duty-free treatment of these yarns would be continued through November 7, 1968.

The Senate added a single amendment to this bill. This amendment would have increased the duty on textured yarns of manmade fiber, sometimes called "crinkle yarn." This product is dutiable at a number of rates under existing law ranging from 22½ percent up to 25 cents plus 30 percent ad valorem. The Senate felt that the manipulations required in the production of this textured yarn justified added protection. Accordingly, the Senate amendment would have fixed the duty on all-textured yarn at 25 cents per pound plus 30 percent ad valorem.

The House conferees were not willing to accept this duty increase at this time. They did agree with the Senate conferees however on the desirability of assuring

adequate protection to the manmade fiber industry. They agreed also on the desirability of proper tariff classification for this yarn.

Under the conference agreement, the Senate amendment is deleted. In its place, the conferees agreed to direct the President to promptly undertake a study of the desirability and feasibility of separate classifications for these yarns and to report the results of his study together with his recommendations as to appropriate rate or rates of duty for this product to the House and the Senate not later than February 1, 1966. No doubt when the President's proposal is received, Congress can act swiftly to assure adequate protection for this manmade yarn.

I urge that the conference report be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

CORRECTION OF CERTAIN ERRORS IN THE TARIFF SCHEDULES OF THE UNITED STATES—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 7969) to correct certain errors in the Tariff Schedules of the United States. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of September 13, 1965, pp. 22765-22768, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, this is the conference report on H.R. 7969, a bill to correct certain errors and omissions in the new tariff schedules. Actually, it corrects more than 140 of them. The Senate passed this measure on August 13 after making 116 changes in the House bill. I am pleased to report to the Senate that in only 9 instances relating to substantive amendments were the Senate conferees forced to yield. In three instances, we compromised our differences with the House.

Mr. President, I am certain that the House has had an opportunity to act. The conference report was agreed to several days ago. Senators interested in the amendments feel that the conferees did a good job. We did the best we could for them particularly with the most controversial amendments. I agree that we had to compromise. We did the best we could for all concerned.

Probably the most important amendment was that relating to the tariff treatment of synthetic rubber and plastic waterproof footwear. Under the present law, these articles are dutiable at 12½ percent on the basis of their foreign or

export value. Identical footwear made of natural rubber, however, bears a far higher duty. In this instance, the base is not foreign or export value, but the American selling price of the article. Under the Senate amendment, the American selling price method of valuation would have been abandoned in the case of natural rubber protective footwear and all forms of protective footwear whether of natural or synthetic rubber or of plastics would have been treated alike; those of polyvinyl chloride would have been dutiable at 12½ percent, regular rubbers which do not extend up above the ankles generally would have been dutiable at 25 percent, while over-the-ankle galoshes, boots, waders, and so forth would have been subject to a rate of 60 percent. The House conferees were adamant in their refusal to agree to the 60-percent duty. After arguing with them for 2 days, we were able to convince the House conferees that they should agree to the substance of the Senate amendment. However, we had to yield to them on the rate.

Under the conference agreement, polyvinyl chloride overshoes and boots generally are to be dutiable at 12½ percent as under the Senate bill. Technical amendments enlarge the scope of this low-rate category to include polyvinyl chloride products which are lined with polyvinyl chloride. We have also enlarged the 25-percent category to include below-the-ankle type overshoes of plastic as well as of rubber. In both these instances of enlarging low-rate categories, the products in question would have been dutiable under the 60-percent category under the Senate amendment. As I have already stated, the Senate conferees had to yield on this rate. Under the agreement worked out with the House, the rate on over-the-ankle galoshes, boots, waders, and so forth, is to be 37½ percent. I believe that on balance the conference agreement represents a victory for the Senate position.

Another important provision in the bill which was compromised with the House dealt with particleboard. Under the House bill, duty on this product would have been increased from 12 percent to 20 percent. The Senate bill continued the 12-percent duty. The House conferees were strong in their insistence for their provision and the Senate conferees eventually were constrained to recede. However, I can say that we were able to preserve the 12-percent rate for particleboard manufactured of three types of tropical hardwood. These woods are pterocarpus, triplaris, and virola. Particleboard of these tropical woods typically is sold in Puerto Rico and Florida and generally does not compete with U.S. produced particleboard. Because of the strong position taken by the House conferees, I believe that the Senate conferees did well to preserve this part of its amendment.

It is understood that the Secretary of the Treasury, in the administration of the new item 245.45, has authority under general headnote 11 to the tariff schedules of the United States to require importers to furnish certifications by governments of the countries of manufac-

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spectable again by universal consent within a few years after the war; consequently, they have felt little need for their own party.

In 1949 the Independents took 12 percent of the popular vote and 16 seats in the Parliament; this success has never been matched by the Freedom Party, which polled 315,000 votes and gained 8 seats in the 1962 national elections. In Vienna, in October 1964, the party received fewer than 80,000 of the million votes cast.

Other countries: Outside of Germany, Austria, and Italy, neo-Nazi parties, whatever their national political pretensions, are seldom able to elect candidates. England's Union of British Fascists (Oswald Mosley's party), for instance, had 30 candidates in the latest London municipal elections, in the districts most plagued by racial troubles. They failed to win a single seat. After a disastrous experience some years ago, Scandinavian neo-Nazi parties stopped presenting candidates. Holland, too, has no group worth mentioning.

Belgium's neo-Nazis are also without electoral strength, but wartime collaborators have found a home in the Volksunie, a Flemish Nationalist Party hostile to the present unified national regime and its institutions. Volksunie preaches greater federalism, calls for amnesty for collaborators, and seeks to exacerbate the split between the French-speaking Walloons and the Flemish segment of the country. During the war, the Germans treated the Flemish more favorably than the French-speaking Belgians, and the majority of Belgian collaborationists were Flemish. In 1949, the Flemish nationalists reorganized under the name of the Vlaamse Concentratie, which managed to garner 103,000, or 2 percent, of the national Belgian vote. In 1954, this group changed its name to the Volksunie and won a seat in the Parliament. In 1961, it polled 182,000 votes, electing 5 deputies and 2 senators; and in May 1965, Volksunie more than doubled its 1961 vote, electing 13 deputies and 4 senators.

A new nationalist party may be in the offing in France; the candidate is already at hand. Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancourt is a 57-year-old, bronze-voiced lawyer whose background holds attractions for several rightist groups. He appeals to the Pétainists because he was an Assistant Minister in Pétain's Vichy government; to OAS elements for his legal defense of leaders such as Gen. Raoul Salan; and to the former colons of north Africa and the French repatriates from Algiers, Oran, Tunis, and Casablanca for having defended their cause. He is also acceptable to oldtime French ultras and anti-Semites—the Royalists, Action Française, and the anti-Dreyfusards—and is favored by the "activist" neo-Fascist groups.

SPREADING RIGHTWING IDEAS

While the organized right has been shrinking and fumbling about for new formulations, the circulation of rightwing newspapers, magazines, and books has been growing.

A recent register of neo-Nazi militarist and nationalist literature in West Germany analyzes some 80 publishers, periodicals, and book clubs dealing in the works of former Nazis, ex-generals, and right radicals. Among the featured authors are the widow of Joachim von Ribbentrop, Panzer SS Gen. Kurt Meyer, Otto Skorzeny, and Oswald Mosley. Owners of the publishing houses include Helmut Suendermann, a former Goebbels deputy and head of the prolific Druffel Verlag publishing house, and Dr. Herbert Grabert, author of "Volk ohne Fuehrung," a book which was declared subversive by the Government in 1958.

One writer frequently quoted by the rightist propagandists is an American historian, Dr. David Hoggan, who taught at San Fran-

cisco State College and was a research fellow at the Hoover Institute. His 898-page book, "The Enforced War," casts the British as the villains who caused World War II, and Hitler as their victim. Despite a price of \$12 per copy, his book reached the national nonfiction bestseller list in Germany, where it is now in its fifth printing. It is also scheduled for publication in France.

The top right-radical weekly paper in Germany is the Deutsche National Zeitung und Soldaten Zeitung (NZ), published by 32-year-old Gerhard Frey, who shows great imagination in handling hackneyed Nazi themes. With emotional appeal, racy language, and innuendo, NZ addresses itself to latent German frustrations and resentments. It calls for return of Germany's lost lands, labels the wartime bombings of Dresden and Hiroshima as Allied war crimes, and repeats Hoggan's thesis of British war responsibility.

A GROWING CHORUS

In France, as in Germany, the rightwing's most notable achievement has been the growth of its press and publications. In March 1964, several French ultra groups—Poujade's Fraternité Française, Colonel Trinquier's Association for Study of Reform of the State, Europe Action, and the Center of Social Studies—attempted to set up a liaison office. The effort failed because the only point of unity was mutual hatred of De Gaulle. An extreme rightist literary group, the Society of the Friends of Edouard Drummond, formed late in 1963, seems destined for greater durability. The group includes virtually every important ultra-nationalist French writer, among them Maurice Bardèche; Xavier Vallat, former Commissioner for Jewish Affairs under the Vichy regime and editor of Aspects de la France; editor Dominique Venner of Europe Action; Pierre Dominique of Rivarol; and publisher Henri Coston.

France has no outstanding rightwing weekly, such as the NZ in Germany, and the veteran Rivarol and Aspects de la France have dropped slightly in circulation, with a current readership of about 42,000 and 23,000 respectively. But two new and successful publications have appeared since 1963: Europe Action, a monthly magazine with a circulation of about 25,000 in France and Germany which, in addition to its regular publication, issues weekly newsletters and special booklets; and Cahiers Universitaires, a university-student publication of professional caliber. The 3-year-old popular weekly, Minute, with a circulation of about 150,000, often voices rightwing themes.

Rightwing heroes are getting a greater play than at any time during the past two decades. With the 50th anniversary of the start of World War I in 1964, articles about Marshal Pétain, hero of Verdun and later head of the Nazi-controlled Vichy Government, sprouted everywhere. The campaign to transfer his remains to the French military cemetery at Droumont gained new intensity, and his portrait was featured on the covers of record albums and the front pages of many major weeklies.

An impressive number of rightwing books were published in France in 1963 and 1964, including the notebooks of Charles Maurras, intellectual mentor for many rightists. More than a dozen current record albums glorify French collaborators, the OAS, Salan, and Céline, and revive the songs of the Spanish Falangists and the old German and Nazi armies. One record, quite popular among students, interlards excerpts from speeches by Hitler, Goering, and other Nazi spokesmen among Nazi and German war songs; the blurb on the jacket stresses the fact that Hitler came to power through democratic elections. Jean Marie de Pen, a former Poujade aide, and two Vichy regime collaborators control a lucrative record company that produces these novelty items. The Librairie de

L'Amitié (Friendship Library) in Paris is a busy distribution center for such material.

This renewed interest in World Wars I and II is warmly welcomed by all the right-radical groups, for it offers them another opportunity to impress the youth and to argue for a rewriting of history.

CONCLUSION

On the surface, the status of neonazism two decades after Hitler's defeat seems to offer its adherents scant encouragement. The number of activists appears to be decreasing, the seasoned leadership fading, and no unified international movement is in sight.

On the other hand, the themes, slogans, and pseudoscientific arguments of the radical right seem to exert a potent attraction for young people, especially the intellectuals. The rising popularity of publications and recordings ennobling Nazis and nazism could indicate a growing receptivity to their basic ideology.

A new and serious element is the Arab League's secret aid to various groupings of neo-Nazis. Arab resources may well determine the future of many new obscure conspirators—and their intended victims.

Some observers believe that the neo-Nazis and right radicals are currently in a period of hibernation from which they will one day emerge in force. Others doubt that great numbers of supporters can ever again be rallied to such a cause. There is general agreement, however, that the relatively stable climate of presentday Europe should be disturbed by social, economic, or political crisis, extremist groups would gain considerably in strength and influence.

Mr. MANSTFIELD. Mr. President, I yield, under the bill, such time as the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] may require.

SUPERVISION OVER CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I have always been of the belief that some sort of closer supervision should be exercised over the Central Intelligence Agency than is presently the case. For this reason I have cosponsored bills calling for so-called congressional "watchdog" committees.

I well recall during the Bay of Pigs the acceptance of the generally held belief that those individuals and activities connected with intelligence estimates should be separated from those who plan and execute operations. This would mean that intelligence estimates will not be cut to the cloth of those who would like to engage in operations. To the best of my knowledge this has not been done.

While I recognize that the Central Intelligence Agency cannot announce its triumphs, I do believe that from the negative viewpoint the article by Mr. Stanley Karnow in the Providence Journal of September 7, 1965, might be of interest to my colleagues. It outlines various abortive projects of the CIA in the Far East, apparently often the result of the nonseparation of intelligence analysis from the execution of operations. And I believe that the reading of it will emphasize the need for tighter controls.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Karnow be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECORD OF CIA IN SOUTHEAST ASIA PLACES U.S. NAME IN DISREPUTE

(By Stanley Karnow)

WASHINGTON.—In a petulant mood one day last week, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, unfolded an intriguing glimpse of history. Late in 1960, he disclosed, a Central Intelligence Agency operative had offered him a \$3 million bribe to conceal a bungled American espionage attempt. The shadowy affair involved girls, too—or, as Prime Minister Lee put it, "Like James Bond, only not so good."

A House subcommittee on foreign affairs led by CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, Wisconsin Democrat is scheduled to begin a closed inquiry into what happened in Singapore tomorrow.

But what happened in Singapore, though rather embarrassing, was relatively innocuous compared to a clumsier assortment of other covert American efforts in southeast Asia over the years. For example:

In Burma, more than a decade ago, U.S. secret agents striving to influence Burmese political leanings were somehow sidetracked into the more rewarding pursuit of opium trading.

In Cambodia, U.S. secret agents were indirectly involved in an abortive coup d'etat contrived to overthrow Prince Sihanouk's government.

In Indonesia, U.S. secret agents backed a desultory rebellion aimed at undermining President Sukarno.

In Laos, U.S. secret agents' operations ranged from stuffing ballot boxes to bulwarking a full-scale military offensive by insurgents against the country capital.

None of the operations succeeded in any significant long-range sense. Some served to justify local leaders' doubts or hostility toward the United States and nearly everywhere in southeast Asia, though supposedly clandestine, American covert activities were widely known.

INGENIOUS PLAN IS FAILURE

The first of these earnest efforts, back in the 1950's, was focused on the tangled jungles of northwest Burma. Defeated by the Communists in China, bands of Chinese Nationalist troops had retreated into this area, where they became brisk opium traders. It was considered, however, that they might perform a nobler purpose.

As it does now, Burma in those days adhered to a neutralist line. But neutralism, insisted the then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, was not only immoral, but shortsighted. Thus a clever scheme was elaborated to help the Burmese see the light.

The remnant Chinese Nationalists would be inspired to provoke Communist China into attacking Burma, thereby forcing the Burmese to seek salvation in the Western camp. Ingenious as it was, the plan worked poorly.

For one thing, the Americans assigned to supply the Nationalists with weapons and gold enlisted the aid of Gen. Phao Sriyanod, the police chief of neighboring Thailand. But Chief Phao, a leading narcotics dealer, cared little about international politics. He simply wanted to latch on to the Nationalists' opium.

And under his aegis, an operation originally dedicated to saving Burmese souls soon degenerated into a lucrative narcotics traffic. Aircraft mobilized to supply the Nationalists were employed mostly to transport opium, and several American agents, unable to resist temptation, eagerly joined in the smuggling. Finally, in 1953, Gen. "Wild Bill" Donovan went out to Bangkok, ostensibly as U.S. Ambassador, effectively to clean up the mess.

CIA REMAINS UNDETERRED

The whole maneuver, dubiously conceived and artlessly executed, had inevitable repercussions. Blaming the United States for

supporting the Chinese Nationalists on their territory, the Burmese renounced American aid and came close to quitting the United Nations. For other motives as well, Burma has since found an accommodation to Communist China more advantageous.

The abortive Burmese experience did not deter further covert efforts, however. In 1958, a somewhat different sort of tactic was initiated against another uncooperative leader, Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

Financed by U.S. funds and equipment, a team of South Vietnamese operatives joined Cambodian rebels in attempting to overthrow Prince Sihanouk and replace him with Dap Chuon, then the Cambodian Minister of Security. The plot fell apart when loyal Cambodian troops invaded the rebel headquarters, killed Dap Chuon, and discovered among the insurgents a U.S. Information Agency employee.

Only a month before, Prince Sihanouk had publicly praised U.S. aid and denied any intention of flirting with communism. After the plot against him, he promptly recognized Red China and rejected a new offer of American assistance, terming it "suspicious."

About the same time, U.S. operatives began to cast an eye toward Indonesia, where local army commanders scattered across the far-flung archipelago were rumbling against President Sukarno's government. Some objected to growing Communist strength, others had regional grievances.

As rebellions spread through Sumatra, East Java, and other outlying areas, Secretary of State Dulles intruded with the opinion that the United States wished for Indonesia a regime that "reflects the real interests and desires of the people." Against the opposition of American diplomats in Jakarta, covert U.S. support for the rebels started to flow south from bases in Formosa and the Philippines. One American pilot, Allan Lawrence Pope, was shot down while on a bombing mission over Indonesia.

TURNING POINT FOR SUKARNO?

Undercover United States help to the Indonesian rebels was never extensive, it seems. It was enough, however, to reinforce Sukarno's distrust of the United States. Some analysts believe it was a turning point, after which Indonesian-American relations have steadily slid downhill.

By contrast, CIA operatives fanned out through primitive Laos with the authority of game wardens in a national park. They selected and subsidized local political leaders and actuated uprisings. They so rigged the April 1960, elections that all the contested seats were won by right wingers.

In one constituency their chosen candidate received 18,000 votes, while his pro-Communist opponent polled only 4.

Later in 1960, while a State Department spokesman warned that civil war would only help the Communists, a team of covert American advisers engineered General Phoumi Nosavan's drive against Vientiane, the seat of the neutralist government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma. One effect of the turmoil was to open the way for Soviet intervention in Laos.

After the Bay of Pigs disaster, President Kennedy fortified a watchdog committee to supervise CIA activities, and the day of romantic undercover operations waned, but there is still talk in Washington of putting the CIA under some kind of firm surveillance.

And as Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew reflected in his Singapore charge, the notion still persists that U.S. policy in southeast Asia is planned and activated by characters out of Ian Fleming novels—only not so good. In the popular image, these characters topple governments, subvert leaders and seduce dragon ladies.

But whether the image is always true or sometimes exaggerated, U.S. policy is often a victim of its image.

FURNISHING OF ARMS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, those of us who have been concerned with the giving of arms to neighboring countries who are hostile to each other, such as India and Pakistan, Greece and Turkey, have the wisdom of our concern confirmed by the present war between India and Pakistan.

While I fully believe in the importance of educational and economic development of the underdeveloped nations of the world, I continue to believe that our encouragement of the military development of these nations is a self-defeating policy on our part. In Latin America we find the military assistance often used as a means of perpetuating the oligarchies, or providing the means for military or nondemocratic groups to perpetuate coups overturning popularly elected governments.

A list of the nations south of the Rio Grande where this has occurred is very long indeed in this regard.

In order to emphasize the importance of exercising restraint when it comes to giving military aid to the underdeveloped nations of the world or to neighboring hostile pairs of nations, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the Record at this point a table from this week's Newsweek, showing who give what arms to India and Pakistan, and an article by Mr. Stanley Karnow that appeared in this morning's Washington Post.

There being no objection, the table and article were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Arms: Who supplied what

[From Newsweek, Sept. 20, 1965]

	India	Pakistan
United States:		
F-86 Sabre jets.....	0	100
F-104 Starfighters.....	0	50
B-57 attack bombers.....	0	30
C-130 transports.....	0	4
C-119 transports.....	25	0
Patton tanks.....	0	200
Sherman tanks.....	30	0
Great Britain:		
Hunter jet fighters.....	150	0
Vampire bombers.....	100	0
Gnat jet fighters.....	100	0
Canberra bombers.....	80	50
Canberra photo planes.....	8	0
Viscount transports.....	5	0
Centurion tanks.....	210	0
Stuart tanks.....	80	0
Soviet Union:		
Mig 21 jet fighters.....	6	0
Ilyushin transports.....	2	0
Anonov transports.....	24	0
France:		
Mystere IV jet fighters.....	100	0
AMX 13 tanks.....	40	0

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 13, 1965]

A CATALOG OF PAST EMBARRASMENTS—KASHMIR CLASH POINTS UP DILEMMA INVOLVING U.S. WEAPONS AID ABROAD

(By Stanley Karnow)

The angry shots being fired across the Kashmir lowlands and the hot Punjab plains are causing anguished echoes in Washington. For the warring Indians and Pakistanis are both armed with U.S. equipment originally intended not to aggravate old antagonisms, but as protection against Soviet or Chinese Communist aggression.

Thus, the clash currently shaking South Asia indirectly dramatizes an American dilemma—whether the United States can effectively supervise its foreign military aid.